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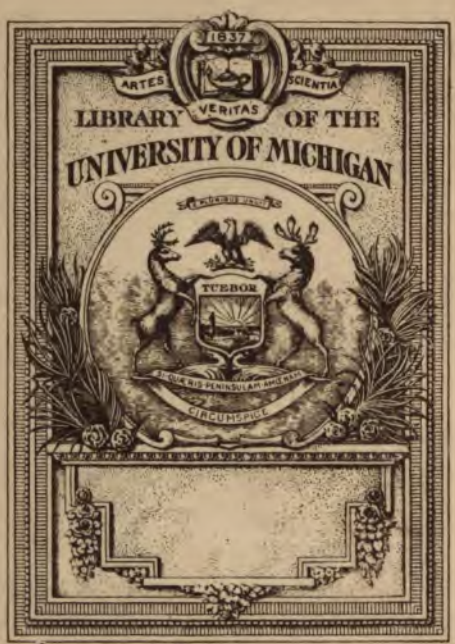
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VIEW

OF THE

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ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS

OF THE

POLYNESIAN NATION;

DEMONSTRATING

THEIR ANCIENT DISCOVERY AND PROGRESSIVE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA.

BY

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"Omissis ergo hujusce terrenæ philosophiæ authoribus, nihil certi asserentibus, aggrediamur viam rectam."

LACTANTIUS de Falsa Religione, lib. i. c. 1.

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1834.

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INTRODUCTION.

In the course of my second voyage from New South Wales to England, in the year 1830, I was led to devote a few days, after crossing the Line from the southward, to an attempt to ascertain the manner in which the islands of the South Seas had been originally peopled, and to inquire whether there was any affinity between the languages and the institutions and customs of their singular inhabitants, and those of any other known division of the family of man. I was induced to enter on this particular branch of literary and philosophical inquiry, partly from a natural fondness for such investigations, but chiefly from the growing importance of the South Sea Islands, both as a field for missionary labour and for

mercantile speculation; from the rapidly-extending connexion between several of the groups of these islands and the colony of New South Wales; and from the progress that was then making in the colonization of the southernmost of the Polynesian groups—the islands of New Zealand—by adventurers from that colony.

In pursuing this investigation, I had little else to refer to than the result of my own previous reading and observations, in the shape of a variety of unconnected notanda; some of which were extracts of works which I had previously read, while others were merely the details of facts relative to the South Sea Islands, of which I had at different periods been incidentally apprised during my residence in New South Wales. But extremely limited as were the sources of information to which I could possibly have access in a ship's cabin at sea, there was sufficient light derivable from these sources to show that the subject of inquiry was interesting and important to a degree I could never have anticipated; and that it promised in some measure to open up the

darkest and the most mysterious portion of the ancient history of man.

A multitude of other avocations of a very different kind prevented me from taking up the subject again till some time after my arrival in London in the month of November, 1833, after a third voyage to England from New South Wales. In the course of that voyage I had drawn up, with a view to publication in London, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, both as a Penal Settlement and as a British Colony;* and on subsequently revising the manuscript of that work for the press, it was my intention to have subjoined to it, as a sort of Appendix, the paper I had written on a former voyage, On the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation. But the latter paper being more of a literary character than the work I refer to, and being therefore addressed chiefly to a different class of readers, I was induced to publish it, with such additions as I could afford leisure to make,* in

* Several of these additions were suggested by the perusal of a work recently published, containing an Essay "On the Polynesian

the midst of a variety of uncongenial and harassing employments, in a separate form. It would have given me much pleasure to have had it in my power to spend a few days in the library of the British Museum, to collect facts and illustrations bearing on the subject of investigation in the following pages, from works that are not elsewhere obtainable. But, unfortunately, the only time I have been able to devote to literary labour for several years past, has been the time I have passed on ship-board—either amid storms

or East Insular Languages," by W. Marsden, Esq., author of the *History of Sumatra* and of the *Malay Dictionary*. I had not seen that work till the following treatise had gone to press; but it was fortunately not too late to make a few remarks on some of the facts it adduces, and on some of the reasonings of its intelligent author. If I have been induced to dissent entirely from the latter, as well as from those of other writers of note, on the origin of the Polynesian nation, I trust the reader will find I have not done so without sufficient grounds. At all events, the series of facts from which I have been led to deduce inferences of a most important bearing on the history and condition of man, in the ages immediately succeeding the deluge, is open to examination; and if those, who may consider it going far out of the way to go to Mexico and Otaheite for information relative to the pyramids of Egypt and the ancient monuments of Etruria, will explain these facts satisfactorily on any other hypothesis, I shall be most willing to confess with the dramatist, *operam perdidi et oleum*.

and icebergs in the high latitudes of the southern hemisphere, or beneath vertical suns within the tropics,—where the only books to be had, in addition to the few odd volumes in the corner of one's own trunk, are the stars of heaven by night, or the flying-fish and the dolphin by day. But although I am quite sensible of the very imperfect state in which the following publication is about to issue from the press, I was unwilling to carry out the manuscript a second time to New South Wales:—1st, Because the interesting investigation it appears to me to have opened up, may be pursued by others who have opportunities for literary research, from which I am altogether precluded; and 2nd, Because I flatter myself it will enable the reader to answer to his own entire satisfaction a question which has hitherto remained unanswered since the days of Columbus, and to answer that question, moreover, in a way that will serve materially to strengthen his faith in the oracles of God.

London, May, 1834.

VIEW

OF THE

ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS

OF THE

POLYNESIAN NATION.

Omissis ergo hujusce terrenæ philosophiæ authoribus, nihil certi asserentibus, aggrediamur viam rectam.—LACTANTIUS, De Falsa Religione, lib. I. cap. 1.

"Let us therefore take leave of the authors of this earthly philosophy, whose assertions are mere conjectures, and pursue the proper course."

THE singular phenomenon which the South Sea Islands present to the eye of a philosophical observer, is perhaps one of the most difficult to account for that has ever exercised the ingenuity of man. From the Sandwich Islands in the northern, to New Zealand in the southern, hemisphere; from the Indian Archipelago to Easter Island, near the continent of America—an extent

of ocean comprising sixty degrees of latitude, and a hundred and twenty of longitude, i. e. exactly twice the extent of the ancient Roman empire in its greatest glory—the same primitive language is spoken, the same singular customs prevail, the same semibarbarous nation inhabits the multitude of the isles.

It were easy to account for this fact on the principle on which the philosophic Tacitus accounts for the existence of man in the vast forests of Germany, viz. by supposing that the South Sea Islanders are indigenous, or coeval with the islands they severally inhabit.* It were not less easy to suppose, with certain other philosophers, the existence of a vast continent which had been submerged in some tremendous convulsion of na-

* Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim—quia nec terra olim, sed classibus, advehebantur, qui mutare sedes volebant. Tacit. de Morib. German.—" I am inclined to believe the Germans indigenous; for, in ancient times, those who were desirous of changing their settlements did not usually travel by land, but by sea." By the way, Tacitus would have found no difficulty in peopling the South Sea Islands; for if their inhabitants had not been allowed to have been *indigenæ*, i. e. to have sprung up out of the sea like the islands themselves, he would have said *olim classibus advehebantur*, i. e. " they arrived in canoes a long time ago."

ture, and of which the multitude of the isles of the vast Pacific are merely the summits of the sunken mountains.* But the former of these suppositions is not less opposed to the dictates of sound philosophy, than it is to the positive declarations of Holy Scripture; for while, on the one hand, we are divinely informed that "God made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth," it is surely more accordant with sound philosophy, on the other, to conclude, that if the creation of one solitary pair would have been sufficient to people the globe, that Almighty Being who does nothing in vain would not have called a greater number of mortals into immediate existence at the creation of the world.† The latter hypothesis, which supposes

* La plupart de ces isles ne sont en effet que des pointes de montagnes; et la mer, qui est au-dela, est une vraie mer Mediterranée.—Buffon. This observation refers to the islands of the West Indies; but it has also been repeatedly made in regard to the numerous groups of Polynesia.

† It was customary in Voltaire's time to consider *the whites* and *the blacks* as two radically distinct races of men; and the reason assigned for this hypothesis was, that a Dutch professor at Leyden had demonstrated that the negro's skin was essentially different in its texture from that of the European. But the progress of

the existence of a vast *Terra Pacifica*, which has been submerged in some great convulsion of nature, is not only gratuitous, but is also at variance with a whole series of phenomena that are still

science has discarded this idea; for, in a work published towards the close of the last century by the elder Blumenbach, (*Ueber die Verschiedenheiten im Menschengeschlecht*, "On the radical Distinctions in the Human Species,") that eminent naturalist observes, "Philosophers are now agreed that the character of the hair and the colour of the skin are not sufficient grounds for establishing a radical distinction between different tribes of men." Blumenbach supposes, however, that the conformation of the skull, in the different divisions of the human family, affords the requisite ground for such distinctions, and accordingly divides the family of man into five grand divisions or races, which he considers radically and essentially distinct, viz. the Caucasian or European, the Ethiopic or Negro, the Mongolian or Chinese, the Malayan, and the American. But this division is very arbitrary, and I am confident that in the progress of science it will be utterly discarded. The effect likely to be produced on the configuration of the cranium by climate, mode of living, isolation, and the perpetuation of remarkable peculiarities originally accidental, in the course of three or four thousand years, is not to be estimated in a twinkling, even by the acutest German professor armed with his rule and compasses, and seated in his academical Golgotha, or *place of skulls*. Dr. Dwight, in his "Travels in America," speaks of a New England farmer having procured a breed of remarkably short-legged sheep from a ewe in his flock which had that singular but entirely accidental peculiarity, and which was consequently unable to clear the stone-walls or fences on the farm with the rest of the flock—a circumstance which enhanced its value to the farmer. May not peculiarities in the conformation of the human cranium, originally accidental, be confirmed, increased, and perpetuated in a similar way?

observable in the South Seas. For it is not the disappearance of land, but the actual formation of land, where all was sea before from time immemorial, that constitutes the remarkable peculiarity in the physical aspect of that portion of the earth's surface; for all over the intertropical regions of the vast Pacific Ocean, the coral insect is still employed in forming islands innumerable, and in rearing piles of building far loftier, and doubtless far more durable, than the pyramids of Egypt, in the midst of the fathomless sea. "Leaving, therefore, these crude hypotheses without further observation, let us attend to the evidence afforded in the matter in question by indubitable facts."

I would observe, therefore, that the South Sea Islanders exhibit indubitable evidences of an Asiatic origin.

I. Distinction of caste—the most ancient and the most remarkable feature of Asiatic society—prevails to a great extent in the South Sea Islands.* In Tahiti, this distinction was formerly

* In ancient Egypt callings were hereditary, as in India and in Tonga-Taboo, one of the South Sea Islands.

carried to so ridiculous an extent in the case of the royal family—all the members of which were regarded as *sacred* in the highest Tahitian sense of the word—that whatever any of the princes of the blood happened to touch became sacred also. If the king entered a house, the owner had to abandon it forthwith. If he walked on a footpath, it was death for a plebeian to walk on it afterwards. In benevolent consideration, therefore, of the welfare and convenience of his subjects, His Tahitian Majesty, having no state-carriage, was graciously pleased to be carried on men's shoulders whenever he wished to see the world, lest he should otherwise consecrate his own highways, and render them impassable in future for his subjects. In the Friendly Islands, the several castes are still better defined; and the Brahmin, or priestly caste, ranks highest, insomuch that the Grand Lama of these islands—the Tooi Tonga as he is called—(for to form a human god has ever been the highest effort of superstition, whether in the South Sea Islands, in Tartary, or in Rome,) takes precedence even of the king. In New Zealand, indeed, the distinction of caste does not prevail.

There every man is either a Rangatira, i. e. *a gentleman*, who knows no superior* and who bows to no authority; or a miserable slave, who holds, or who loses, his life at the mere caprice of his master. The slave, however, is not inferior in birth to the master; he has only become inferior through the fortune of war.

The castes in India are:—

1. The Brahmin caste, whose office is to offer sacrifices, to teach the Veda, to offer gifts, and to receive presents.

2. The Kshutriya caste, whose office is to protect the country and the Brahmins.

3. The Vishya caste, whose office is to keep cattle, to carry on trade, to cultivate the land.

4. The Shoodra caste, whose office is to serve the Brahmins. And persons of the higher castes must not communicate with the lower in marriage, in eating, or in family friendship, on pain of degradation and the loss of all earthly connexions.

* Chieftainship is acquired in New Zealand, as among the ancient Germans, only through the influence of personal character.

In the Friendly Islands, in which the Polynesian system seems to have retained much more of its ancient and distinctive features than in most of the other groups, a similar, if not exactly the same, division of society obtains. In these islands the highest caste is in like manner:—

1. The priestly caste, the heads of which are supposed to be descended from the gods: they receive presents from the lower castes, and enjoy peculiar privileges; and the other islanders testify their respect towards them by addressing them in a sort of Sanscrit or sacred language, which is not used on inferior subjects.

2. The Egi, or nobles, whose office it is to preside in war and to be the rulers of the country, the king himself being of this caste.

3. The Matabooles, or gentlemen, whose office it is to act as companions and counsellors to the nobles, to be masters of ceremonies and orators at public assemblies. The cadets or younger brothers and sons of this caste practise mechanical arts under the name of Mooas.

4. The Tooas, or lowest caste, consisting of com-

mon labourers, cooks, servants. And, in like manner as in India, the repugnance towards any intermingling of the castes is so strong, that if an individual of one of the higher castes has children by a wife or concubine of one of the lower, the children must be put to death to prevent the degradation of the family.

II. The singular institution of *Taboo*, which obtains universally in the South Sea Islands, is evidently also of Asiatic origin. The word *Taboo* is nearly equivalent to the Latin *sacer*, and the Greek *anathema*, signifying either *sacred* or *accursed*, *holy* or *unclean*. Under the Levitical law the show-bread was taboo, or forbidden to all but the priests. The leper was also taboo, for his touch communicated ceremonial pollution. The Jews pronounced the former *holy*—the Romans would have said *sacer diis cœlestibus:* the latter they pronounced *unclean* — the Romans would have said *sacer diis infernis*. In short, the Polynesian taboo extends to persons, places, and things; and whatever is subjected either to its temporary or to its permanent operation thereby

acquires a character of sacredness in the eye of the South Sea Islanders, which it were death to disregard. In New Zealand, for instance, a woman employed in nursing is taboo, and is forbidden, under pain of death, to touch the food which she eats with her own hands; and within these few years, a young woman who had violated this prohibition by eating a piece of fern-root, in the mode forbidden by the law, was accordingly killed and eaten. I have already given an instance of the manner in which the taboo is extended to places, in the case of a king or royal chief consecrating the house into which he has once entered, or the highway on which he has once trod.

In some cases, indeed, the taboo appears to have been a wise and politic institution. After those national festivals that are so frequent in the South Sea Islands, and at which such vast quantities of provisions are consumed as to threaten a general famine, the taboo is laid on certain articles of food, perhaps for a period of six months, and a supply is thus reserved for the future. In the islands towards the north, cer-

tain fruit-bearing trees, and in New Zealand, certain plats of *kumara* or sweet potatoes, are tabooed every season. The produce of these trees or plats is gathered in the time of harvest, and distributed among the people. And in New Zealand, evidently to guard against the events of war and the pressure of famine, the seed-potatoes are always separated from the rest of the stock at the time of ingathering, and placed in a storehouse which is tabooed; and any person found stealing from such a house is punished with death.

Something analogous to this practice prevailed in ancient times so far to the westward as the territory of Attica; and the circumstance may perhaps induce us to believe, that the superstitions of the ancient Pelasgi had a similar origin with those of the Oriental nations. Throughout the Athenian territory, both on the public lands and on those belonging to private individuals, there were numerous olive-trees sacred to the goddess Minerva, of which the fruit was annually collected under the inspection of the magistrates, and afterwards sold by auction; the price being deposited

in the public treasury. These trees would have been called taboo by the South Sea Islanders; and the punishment of death, as in the case of the violation of the Polynesian taboo, was awarded by the laws of Athens to the individual who either cut them down or appropriated their fruit. An Athenian citizen, we are told by one of the Grecian historians, was actually tried for his life before the court of Areopagus, for removing the useless stump of one of these trees from his field; and, had the fact been proved against him, he would have suffered the sentence of the law.

It may doubtless be difficult to account for so singular an institution as the Polynesian taboo; but its Asiatic origin is evident and indubitable. Its influence and operation may be traced from the Straits of Malacca, across the whole continent of Asia, to the sea of Tiberias and the isles of Greece. In Ionia, in Hindostan, and in Otaheite, the person, the place, or the thing, that was subjected to the influence of the mysterious taboo, was thenceforth, in the words of the poet, *auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacrum*,—"abstracted from the

common usages of life by a superstitious dread, the result of ancient religious observances." *

III. The rite of circumcision—that decidedly Asiatic rite—is practised in several of the groups of Polynesia, as in the Fiji, the Friendly, and the Society Islands,—not, however, as a religious observance, but as an ancient custom, of the origin of which no account can be given, and for the prevalence of which no reason is assigned.

IV. In their general appearance and configuration, the idols of the South Sea Islands, (for idols are worshipped in some of the islands, though not generally,) and the other images that are formed by the Polynesians,—rather, I believe, for ornament than for worship,—have a striking resemblance to the idols of Eastern Asia, and in particular to those of the Burman empire. In

* During the prevalence of a strict taboo in some of the South Sea Islands, not an individual is allowed to move from his place, nor a sound of any kind to be emitted by man or beast. The very pigs have bandages applied to their snouts, and the poultry to their bills, to prevent them from disturbing the solemn stillness of the scene. The circumstance would almost remind one of the dread silence that must have pervaded the camp of Israel in the wilderness, when the congregated tribes were summoned to witness the manifestations of a present Deity.

both cases, the idol is generally represented in a recumbent posture; its legs are disproportionately small, and its hands are clasped before it.

V. In their physical conformation and in their general character, the natives of the South Sea Islands strongly resemble the Malays. The Malay cast of countenance is strikingly evident in the South Sea Islands; and the natives of these islands are equally treacherous and equally addicted to navigation with the islanders of the Indian Archipelago.

VI. Numerous Asiatic customs are still discernible in the various islands of the South Seas. In Otaheite, as in Bengal, women are not allowed to eat with their husbands, or to partake of certain articles of food which are indiscriminately eaten by their lords and masters. The general posture in sitting is that of the Asiatics—on the ground, cross-legged; and in the Friendly Islands, as in the kingdom of Siam and in other Eastern countries, it is deemed most respectful to sit in the presence of the sovereign. The New Zealanders and the Friendly Islanders salute each other by touch-

ing noses—a ceremony which is not unknown in eastern Asia; and in the island of Tonga there is a game called *hico*, which consists in throwing up and in keeping in the air a number of balls, as is still practised by the Indian and Chinese jugglers.

Nay, similar modes of thinking, and corresponding peculiarities of action, are found to prevail both in Asia and in the South Sea Islands. The New Zealanders, for example, uniformly ascribe internal maladies to the anger of some Atua or divinity, who is supposed to be gnawing the patient's viscera. In such cases, therefore, instead of administering any thing in the shape of medicine, the priest or soothsayer is consulted; who, after certain divinations, probably pronounces the patient given over to the anger of the god, and then tabooes or excommunicates him: after which he is removed to a solitary house in the neighbourhood, and left to die, like the aged or sick Hindoo on the banks of the Ganges; no person being permitted to hold further communication with him, or to supply him with provisions. It is singular indeed that a similar idea, and a some-

what similar practice, in regard to the treatment of diseases, should have obtained even among the ancient Greeks. We learn from Homer, that when the Grecian army under the walls of Troy was afflicted with an epidemical disease, Machaon and Podalirius, the surgeons-general of the forces, were not asked their opinion in the council of the chiefs, either as to its cause or to the treatment to be adopted for its cure. Chalcas, the soothsayer, was the only person consulted respecting it; and, like a genuine New Zealand Ariki, that very sensible person ascribed the disease to the vengeance of the far-darting Apollo.

In the Fiji Islands, the principal wife must be strangled at her husband's death, and buried along with him—a practice evidently borrowed from the suttees of Hindostan. The same practice obtained also in the Friendly Islands, in regard to the principal wife of the Tooi Tonga, or chief-priest of these islands.

VII. The general tradition of the South Sea Islanders, I mean of those inhabiting the groups in the Southern Pacific, is that the first inha-

bitants of the islands came from the northwestward; Bolotoo, the paradise of the Friendly Islands, being supposed to lie in that direction. In confirmation of this remark, it may be observed that the word *Tonga*—the name of the principal island in the group I have just referred to—signifies *east*, both in the Polynesian and Chinese languages; for that designation will doubtless appear to the reader peculiarly appropriate as the name of an island which its first discoverers and inhabitants had reached from the north-westward.

VIII. It is observed by Mr. Marsden, in his "History of Sumatra," (page 43,) that "the original clothing of the Sumatrans is the same with that found by navigators among the South Sea Islands, and in Europe generally called Otaheitan cloth." And in the account of his voyage from Port Jackson to Batavia, in the year 1791, Captain Hunter observes, in regard to the Duke of York's Island, situated to the eastward of New Ireland, that "most of the natives chew the beetle (*betel*), and with it used the chenam and a leaf, *as practised in the*

East Indies; by which the mouth appeared very red, and their teeth, after a time, became black."

"It may be allowed me to remark," says Mr. Marsden, (in a Treatise on the Polynesian or East Insular Languages, recently published in a collection of that gentleman's miscellaneous works,) when speaking of the inhabitants of the Palaos or Pelew Islands,—"it may be allowed me to remark that these are the most eastern people of whom the practice of chewing *betel* has been mentioned; nor indeed does it appear that either the nut (*areca*) or the leaf (*piper betel*) is the produce of the South Sea Islands."* The island in which the practice has been observed by Captain Hunter, the highly-competent observer I have just cited, is situated twenty degrees of longitude, or about one thousand four hundred miles to the eastward of the Pelew Islands.

IX. But the evidence afforded by the Polynesian language, in regard to the origin of the South Sea Islanders, is still stronger and less open to objection. "Language," says the celebrated

* "Marsden's Miscellaneous Works." London, 1834.

Horne Tooke, "cannot lie; and from the language of every nation we may with certainty collect its origin." "The *similitude* and derivation of languages," observes Dr. Johnson, "afford the most indubitable proof of the traduction of nations and the genealogy of mankind: they add physical certainty to historical evidence; and often supply the only evidences of ancient emigrations and of the revolutions of ages, which have left no written monuments behind them."

The identity of the languages spoken in the different groups of the South Sea Islands was observed by Captain Cook and his fellow-voyagers; and the remarkable resemblance between these languages and those of the Indian Archipelago was also remarked. "In the general character, particular form, and genius of the innumerable languages spoken within the limits of the Indian islands," (according to Mr. Marsden,) "there is a remarkable resemblance, while all of them differ widely from those of every other portion of the world. This observation extends to every country, from the northwest extremity of

Sumatrā to the western shores of New Guinea; and may be even carried to Madagascar on the west, the Philippines to the east, and the remotest of Cook's discoveries to the south." *

"One original language," observes Sir Stamford Raffles, "seems in a very remote period to have pervaded the whole (Indian) Archipelago, and to have spread (perhaps with the population) towards Madagascar on one side, and the islands in the South Sea on the other; but in the proportion that we find any of these tribes more highly advanced in the arts of civilized life than others, in nearly the same proportion do we find the language enriched by a corresponding accession of Sanscrit terms, directing us at once to the source whence civilization flowed towards these regions." †

"At first," says the unfortunate La Perouse, "we perceived no difference between the language of the people of the Navigators' Islands and that of the people of the Society and Friendly Islands,

* "Archæologia," vol. vi. p. 154.

† "History of Java, by Sir S. Raffles," p. 369.

the vocabularies of which we had with us; but a closer examination taught us that they spoke a dialect of the same tongue. A fact which may tend to prove this, and which confirms the opinion of the English respecting the origin of these people, is, that a young Manillese servant, who was born in the province of Tagayan, on the north of Manilla, *understood and interpreted to us most of their words.* Now it is known that the Tagayan, Talgal, and all the dialects of the Philippine Islands in general, *are derived from the Malay;* and this language, more widely spread than those of the Greeks and Romans were, is common to the numerous tribes that inhabit the islands of the South Sea. To me it appears demonstrated, that these different nations are derived from Malay colonies who conquered these islands at very remote periods; and perhaps even the Chinese and Egyptians, whose antiquity is so much vaunted, are moderns compared to these." *

The following is a specimen of the affinity sub-

* "La Perouse's Voyage," chap. xxv.

sisting between the Polynesian dialects and those of the Indian Archipelago :—

ENGLISH.	POLYNESIAN.	MALAY.
The eye	Mata (universally)	Mata (universally).
To eat	Maa (strong guttural)	Macan (Javanese, Mangan).
To kill	Matté	Matté.
A bird	Manu	Manu (Prince's Island, Manuck).
Fish	Ika	Ika (Javanese, Iwa).
A louse	Outou	Coutou.
Rain	Euwa	Udian.
Water	Wai, or Vai	Vai (Amboynese).
The foot	Tapao	Tapaan.
A mosquito	Nammou	Gnammuck.
To scratch	Hearu	Garu.
Coccos roots	Taro, and Talo	Talas.
Hog	Buaa	Buai (Achinese).
Inland	Uta	Utan.
Name	Ingoa	Ingoa.
Hair	Huru	Ru (Island of Savu).
Fire	Auai, obsolete Apuai, (Tahitian)	Apuai (Achinese).
Man	Ora (guttural, Tahitian)	Orang.
Gentleman	Rangatira (N. Zealand)	
Two	Rua (Dua, N. Zealand)	Dua.
Three	Toru (Tolu)	Tolu.
Five	Dima (Rimah, Tahitian)	Sima.
Six	Ono (New Zealand)	Annam.
Seven	Hitu (Witu, N. Zealand)	Pitu (Javanese).
Eight	Waru (Wadu, N. Zeal.)	Wolo (Javanese).
Nine	Iva	Siwah (Lampong).*

* In the Treatise to which I have already adverted, Mr. Marsden, the highly intelligent and learned author of the "History of

There is, therefore, reason to believe that the South Sea Islanders, and the various tribes of Malays inhabiting the islands of the Indian Archipelago, are of kindred origin, and that the languages of all these islanders are merely dialects of the same ancient and primitive tongue. The Polynesian branches of that ancient language doubtless bear a closer resemblance to each other than to the dialects of the Indian Archipelago; but this is just what might have been expected, from the comparative isolation of the South Sea Islands on the one hand, and from the vicinity of the Indian Archipelago to the vast continent of Asia on the other.*

Sumatra," has just published a comparative vocabulary of the dialects of Polynesia and of the Indian Archipelago. The vocabulary extends to thirty-four words—all of them the names of the commonest objects; and the numerous coincidences it exhibits in the languages of tribes situated at vast distances from each other are equally striking and instructive.

* "Besides the Malayan," observes the intelligent author of the History of Sumatra, "there are a variety of languages spoken in Sumatra, which, however, have not only a manifest affinity among themselves, but also to that general language which is found to prevail in and to be indigenous to all the islands of the eastern sea, from Madagascar to the remotest of Captain Cook's discoveries, comprehending a wider extent than the Roman or

The modern language of the Malays abounds in Arabic words, introduced along with the Mahometan delusion by the Moors of the Mogul empire. It abounds also in Sanscrit vocables—the evidences and remains of the ancient intercourse of the nation with the Hindoos of Western India. The former or more recent of these foreign admixtures, compared with the rest of the language, presents the appearance of a number of quartz pebbles embedded in a sheet of ice—their edges rough and broken, and their general aspect exhibiting nothing in common with the homogeneous mass into which they have been frozen. The result of the latter or more ancient of these admixtures, in consequence of the more liquid character of the Sanscrit language, resembles a compound fluid, homogeneous in appearance, but dif-

any other tongue has yet boasted. In different places it has been more or less mixed and corrupted, but between the most dissimilar branches an evident sameness of many radical words is apparent; and in some very distant from each other in point of situation, as, for instance, the Philippines and Madagascar, the deviation of the words is scarcely more than is observable in the dialects of neighbouring provinces of the same kingdom."—History of Sumatra, page 200.

fering essentially, however, from each of the simple ingredients of which it is composed. But the skeleton of the language—its bones and sinews, so to speak,—consists of the ancient Malayan or Polynesian tongue. The comparatively consonantal character of the Arabic admixture has introduced into the language a tendency to discard the final vowels of the ancient Polynesian; the polysyllabic character of the Sanscrit infusion has divested it in great measure of its primitive monosyllabic form. But, in getting beyond the influence of these foreign admixtures from the westward, we find the modern language of the Archipelago gradually assimilating to those of Polynesia Proper: for, "in this dialect," observes Mr. Marsden, in reference to the language spoken in the island of Celebes, which is situated at the eastern extremity of the Archipelago, "we observe one feature that assimilates it to the languages of Further Polynesia, the words being invariably made to terminate with a vowel."*

* "Marsden's Miscellaneous Works," p. 46.

Inattention to these important facts in the history of the Malayan language has led to a series of erroneous views on the part of individuals otherwise distinguished for their oriental scholarship, or for their means of acquiring information on the subject, in their endeavours to ascertain the origin and affinities of the Polynesian language, which have served to involve in still greater obscurity a subject already more than sufficiently obscure. For example, the Rev. Mr. Ellis, the author of that most interesting work "Polynesian Researches," has given a list of ten words from Marsden's Malayan Dictionary, the striking dissimilarity of some of which to the corresponding words in the Hawaiian dialect of the Polynesian language induces him to question the identity of the Malayan and Polynesian tongues, although he admits that "there is a striking resemblance in other" words, and that "a great part of the (Malayan) language was doubtless derived from the same source" as the Polynesian. One of the Malayan words adduced by Mr. E. is the word *shems*, signifying *the sun*, which has certainly very

little resemblance to the Polynesian word *ra* or *la*. But *shems* is a pure Arabic word—the same as the Hebrew word *shemesh*—and was doubtless never heard of in the Indian Archipelago until after the irruption of the Saracens into India from the west. *Orang*, another of the Malay words adduced by Mr. Ellis, and signifying *man*, has its cognates in the dialects of Otaheite and New Zealand; and so also has the Malay word *macan*, to eat. It will not be thought singular that the Polynesian word *marama* or *malama*, *the moon*, which is actually found in Mr. Ellis's own list of Malayan words in the form of *malam*, should signify *night* in that language; or that the Malayan poetical name for *the sun*, *mata-ari*, *the eye of day*, should not be used in that sense in the Polynesian dialects, in which, however, its component parts exist separately in the words *mata*, *eye*, and *ao*, *day*. In travelling by the *Diligence* from Rome to Paris, or, in other words, in a period of time comparatively short, and within a space comparatively limited, the Latin word *dies* has been transformed into the modern French

word *jour;* which, however different from its prototype in external appearance, is nevertheless the same word, as any person may assure himself by merely examining its passports from the Italian States to St. Denis. In these the word is successively described under the names Dies, Diurnus, Giorno (Italian), Gior (old French), Jour. Is it wonderful, then, that part of a language which has evidently formed the principal portion of the cargo of many a light canoe, in a series of sea-voyages undertaken during the course of two or three thousand years—from the Indian Archipelago to New Zealand on the one hand, and to the Sandwich Islands on the other—should have been thrown overboard, or diverted to other purposes than it originally served, by the way? In short, the majority of the words in Mr. Ellis's list prove the identity, rather than the dissimilarity, of the Malayan and Polynesian tongues; and some of the remainder are probably either Arabic or Sanscrit.*

" Upon analyzing the list of thirty-five Malayan words, of the simplest and most genuine character, (selected without any view-

That distinguished orientalist, Sir William Jones, has fallen into a somewhat different mistake in regard to the origin and affinities of the Malayan and Polynesian languages. Observing that many words in the Malayan language were of Sanscrit origin, and that many words in the dialects of the South Sea Islands coincided with Malayan words of similar sound and signification, Sir William concluded, doubtless rather prematurely, that the Sanscrit of Western India was the common parent of both of these eastern tongues. That eminent orientalist was perhaps overfond of referring every thing to the Sanscrit. This ancient mother-tongue was, in his estimation, the key that would open every lock in the labyrinth of language; but it has proved a false key for the equally ancient Polynesian. It was the horse (I will not call it the hobby) on which the Persian scholar could ride in triumph, like his own Rustan, through all

to this process, many years since,) twenty will be found to correspond with the Polynesian generally, seven with a small proportion of the dialects, and seven, as far as our present knowledge extends, seem to be peculiar to the Malayan itself."—Marsden's Miscellaneous Works, page 8.

the ancient provinces of Europe—whether Celtic, Teutonic, or Pelasgic—but he was not aware of its inability to force its way through the jungles to the eastward of the Ganges, or to cross over from the continent of Asia to the multitude of the isles. In short, it would have broken down with him long before he could have reached either New Zealand or Otaheite.

That equally eminent orientalist, Dr. Leyden, whose acquaintance with the languages of Eastern India was much more extensive than that of Sir W. Jones, and whose premature death was one of the greatest calamities that has ever befallen the literature of the East, acknowledges that there are many hundreds, nay thousands, of Sanscrit words in the modern Malayan language,—a circumstance that undoubtedly proves the intimate intercourse that must have subsisted at an early period in the history of the world between the inhabitants of the Archipelago and those of India to the westward of the Ganges,—* but distinctly

* "The Sanskrit, or one of its least corrupted derivatives, was the language from which the Malayan dialect of the Polynesian

states his conviction that the mass of words in the Malayan language is not derivable from the Sanscrit.

In endeavouring, however, to account for the origin and affinities of the dialects of the Indian Archipelago and of Polynesia, Dr. Leyden, in a most interesting essay "On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese nations," published in the 10th vol. of the "Asiatic Researches," and after him Mr. Crawfurd, in his "History of the Indian Archipelago," have advanced an hypothesis which has been very judiciously controverted by Mr. Marsden, and which is equally gratuitous and unnecessary. Forgetful of the axiom,

Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus,

these gentlemen have supposed that there must

received its first and most important additions; but whether by direct communication with natives of the continent of India, or mediately through the *Pali* of Siam and Pegu, which is identified with the *Prakrit*, or through the *Kawi* of Java, which is also derived from the Sanskrit, has not yet been ascertained."—Marsden's Miscellaneous Works, page 6.

have been some general language more ancient and more widely diffused than either the Polynesian, the Malayan, or any of the other dialects of the isles; and that these dialects are merely the modifications of that more ancient language, produced by conquest and immigration, just as the French, the Italian, and the Spanish, are the modifications of the Latin or Roman language—the ancient general language of Europe. In short, there is no reason whatever for supposing that the Polynesian, the Malayan, and the other insular dialects, have any such relationship to a common mother-tongue. These dialects are themselves the mother-tongue, or rather its genuine representatives; and Mr. Marsden, therefore, very properly asks, "What evidence is there of any language having been used by this race of people antecedently to that which now so widely prevails?"*

Mr. Marsden, however, has some delicate and scarcely intelligible distinctions of his own, where there appear to me to be no differences in nature

* "Marsden's Miscellaneous Works," page 13.

or in fact. "Those," observes that gentleman, "who have been accustomed to consider the Malayan as the parent stock, from which the other dialects have sprung, are materially in error. *Their connexion is that of sisterhood;* and although from accidental advantages of education the difference between them has become so great, that, on a superficial view, the Malayan might be thought to belong to a distinct family; yet a comparison of its most simple vocables with those of the less cultivated dialects, with attention to the structure of both, will furnish abundant evidence of their original consanguinity."*

If Mr. Marsden will explain how the Polynesian nation could have reached its present settlements on the South Sea Islands, from the continent of Asia, without having previously touched at the islands of Sumatra and Java, and effected settlements on these islands and the other islands of the Indian Archipelago, I shall perhaps understand the distinction he attempts to establish in this particular instance, between a

* "Miscellaneous Works," page 8.

sister and a mother tongue. The people inhabiting the islands of the Indian Archipelago and the South Sea Islands are evidently and essentially one, and their languages are one and the same; but that general language has, in each particular locality, been modified by those changes to which human speech is universally subject, but more especially by foreign admixtures, and by the influence of superior civilization, to the westward.

In opposition to the untenable hypothesis of Sir W. Jones, in favour of a Sanscrit origin both for the Polynesian language and for the Polynesian nation, Mr. Marsden has somewhere expressed his opinion, that the Malays and the other Polynesian tribes had originally emanated from that great *officina gentium*, Chinese Tartary. If this opinion is well founded, as I am persuaded it is, one would naturally expect to find some affinity between the languages that are spoken, and the habitudes of thinking that are prevalent, in these different and distant regions of the terraqueous globe. It would seem, however, that Mr. M. has subsequently abandoned his own opinion, and is

now fully persuaded that no such affinity subsists. For in speaking of the origin of the Polynesian nation, in the work from which I have already quoted so frequently, Mr. M. observes: "an equally unsuccessful endeavour has hitherto been that of tracing their common descent from some one of the nearest continents; and we must be content to regard the language as original, in the ordinary sense of the expression, implying no more than its origin being in that state of obscurity, *beyond which no connecting line or derivation can be traced.* With the monosyllabic tongues of the nearest continent, *its vocables,* mostly dissyllabic, *are wholly unconnected,* although in their grammatical arrangement some analogies may be discovered." *

I am inclined to dissent from this opinion, both as it respects the alleged impracticability of tracing the origin of the Islanders, and as it respects the alleged absolute isolation of their language. Considerable light, I conceive, may be thrown on both of these interesting subjects of inquiry, by an attentive investigation of their proper bearings.

* "Miscellaneous Works," page 5.

There is one remarkable peculiarity, for instance, in the habitudes of thinking prevalent among the Indo-Chinese nations, which is also observable among the Malayan and Polynesian tribes, but which, as far as my own knowledge extends, is altogether unknown among the nations—whether Asiatic or European—to the westward of the Ganges. That remarkable peculiarity consists in their having a language of ceremony or deference distinct from the language of common life—a peculiarity which, however repugnant to that innate freedom of thought and of action which forms the noblest inheritance of the western nations, whether of Pelasgic, of Celtic, or of Teutonic origin, is nevertheless in perfect accordance with the general habitudes of those races of men, among whom, as in Tartary, a living man is actually worshipped as a God; while the sovereign, as in the Burman empire, styles himself the brother of the Sun and Moon, or is inaccessible, as in China, without the ceremony of nine previous prostrations.

"In addition to these simple pronouns," says Dr. Leyden, in his essay "On the Languages and

Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations," in a passage in which he is treating of the Rukheng language, "there are various others which indicate rank and situation, *as in Malayu, Chinese, and the monosyllabic languages in general, which have all of them paid peculiar attention to the language of ceremony, in addressing superiors, inferiors, and equals.* These ceremonial forms in Rukheng are sometimes formed by particles added to the simple pronouns, and sometimes they are significant terms, such as *servant*, *lord*, *highness*, *majesty*, used pronominally, or rather in an absolute sense, without any expressed pronominal adjuncts; as in addressing a superior, when the terms *asyang*, lord, sir, *sackhang*, highness, *khang-para*, majesty, are employed."*

"The distinction of an ordinary language, and one of ceremony," observes Mr. Marsden, "exists, to a certain degree, among the Malays in practice, although not systematically or compulsorily, as we find it to be the usage among the Javanese."†

* "Asiatic Researches," vol. x.

† "Miscellaneous Works," page 21.

Among the latter, observes Sir Stamford Raffles, in a passage quoted by Mr. Marsden, "nearly one-half of the words in the vernacular language have their corresponding term in the polite language, without a knowledge of which no one dare address a superior." "This distinction," observes Mr. Crawfurd, in a passage also quoted by Mr. M. "by no means implies a court or polished language, opposed to a vulgar or popular one, for both are equally polite and cultivated, and all depends on the relations in which the speakers stand to each other, as they happen to be inferiors or superiors. A servant addresses his master in the language of deference, a child his parent, a wife her husband, if there be much disparity in their ages, and the courtier his prince. The superior replies in the ordinary dialect."*

This distinction is not resolvable into such solitary perversions of speech as are observable even in European languages—in the use of the second personal pronoun, for instance, in the plural instead of the singular number, as is practised in the English

* "Miscellaneous Works," page 23.

and French languages; or in the use of the third personal pronoun plural, when addressing an individual to whom it is desired to testify respect, as is the practice in the German language.* It is a habitude of thought, a subserviency of spirit, a prostration of soul, evincing itself on every occasion, and pervading the whole system of speech. But this remarkable peculiarity is equally observable in those of the South Sea Islands in which there is any thing like a regular government or a distinction of ranks. I have already alluded to it, in enumerating the various castes into which society is divided in the Friendly Islands: it was also prevalent in Otaheite, and it doubtless affords a strong presumptive evidence of an ancient affinity between the Polynesian and the Chinese, or Indo-Chinese, nations.

Nay, I am induced to believe, notwithstanding the strong assertion of a contrary opinion by Mr. Marsden, that the languages of China, of Japan, and of the various other nations

* Soll ich das vergnügen haben ein glas wein *mit ihnen* zu trinken? Shall I have the pleasure of drinking a glass of wine *with them*? not *mit dich* or *mit euch*, *with thee* or *with you*.

of Tartar origin inhabiting India beyond the Ganges, have a similar parentage with the languages of the Indian Archipelago and of the South Sea Islands, and that all these languages are traceable to the same ancient mother-tongue of Eastern Asia. The points of resemblance between the ancient and singularly-formed languages of China and Polynesia are many and striking; and the mental processes that seem to have been gone through in their structure and formation are not less identical in themselves, than they are dissimilar to the processes that seem to have been gone through in the structure and formation of the languages of the west. I shall point out a few of these coincidences for the consideration of the reader.

1. The Chinese and Polynesian languages are evidently in great measure monosyllabic, i. e. a great proportion of the primitive words or units of thought in both languages are monosyllables. In the Polynesian dialects every word ends in a vowel: this, it is true, is not the case in the Chinese; but it would seem that in the latter, which is the language of the more civilized peo-

ple, the final vowel has, in many cases, been dropped, just as the final *e* of the Saxon or Teutonic language has become mute in modern English. Thus the word *tong*, which in Chinese signifies *east*, is in the language of New Zealand *tonga*, which I apprehend is its more ancient form.*

2. In both languages words are susceptible of no change whatever to denote diversity of gender, number, case, or what is understood in European languages by declension and conjugation. Every possible increment of thought must be expressed by a separate word—in no instance by a mere change of termination. Thus *nyan*, a man (Chinese, Canton dialect); *nu nyan*, a woman: *to hunga*, a priest (New Zealand); *e tane to hunga*, a male priest; *e wahine to hunga*, a female priest or priestess. The plural in the New Zea-

* Mr. Marsden uniformly represents the Polynesian dialects as being radically polysyllabic. A slight inspection of any of their vocabularies will be sufficient to convince the intelligent reader, that a large proportion of the words of these dialects consists either of monosyllables, or of polysyllables, each of the component parts of which forms a distinct word. The Chinese language itself by no means abhors such compounds.

land dialect is formed by prefixing *nga*; as *ika*, a fish; *nga ika*, fishes: in Chinese it is formed by adding *men*, (probably *mena* originally,) as *ta*, he; *ta men*, they. Nay, in both languages, the same word is either a noun or a verb, according to the particles it has conjoined with it; as, *ngo siang*, I think (Chinese); *ngo ti siang*, my thought.

3. Relationship is expressed, and compound words or ideas are formed, in both languages, by the mere juxta-position of primitive words. Thus:—

CHINESE.		MALAY AND POLYNESIAN.	
Tao	Head.	Ka-too (Island of Savu)	Head.
Tao-faa	Hair of the head.	Ru-katoo	Hair of the head.
Sao	Hand.	Mata	Eye.
Sao-tchee	Finger.	Mata orang	Man's eye.
Sao-tchee-ong	Thumb.	Orang timor	Men of the east.

4. Particles are used in both languages in a similar way; and these particles are in many instances not merely similar, but absolutely identical. The particle *e* or *y* (which in Chinese signifies *one*) is prefixed to nouns both in the

Chinese and Polynesian languages: so also is the particle *ko* or *ka*; thus:—

CHINESE.		POLYNESIAN.	
Y ko nyan	A man.	E manu	A bird.
Y ko nu-nyan	A woman.	E dima	Five.
Y ko chu	A tree.	E ko nai	The chin.
Y ko mi	A grain of rice.	E ko hu	A fog.
Ko tyan	The heel.	Ko tiro	A girl.
Ko tyee	The toes.	Ko ta	A shell.
Ko tsau	The blood.	Ko taha	A war-instrument.

It is not allowable, however, either in the language of China or in that of the South Sea Islands, to use the same particle in conjunction with any noun. On the contrary, the particle is varied according to the signification of the noun with which it is conjoined. Thus it would be improper to say, although in apparent accordance with the examples already given, *y ko tao*, a sword; *y ko ma*, a horse; *y ko hoa*, a flower. He who would speak the language of the celestial empire with the requisite propriety, and acquire a Chinese style classical without pedantry, and copious without redundance, must say, *y pa tao; y pi ma; y to hoa.* All these three particles, however, (viz. *pa*, *pe* or *pi*, *to*,) are used in exactly the same manner in the Polynesian

dialects; as, for instance, *e pa di* (New Zealand dialect), a precipice; *e pa kéha*,* a white man or European; *e po* or *pe tiki*, a younger brother; *e pe pe*, a butterfly; *e to ki*, an axe; *e to hunga*, a priest. Such coincidences cannot possibly be accidental: they are far less equivocal than coincidences in the meaning of particular words in the two languages. In both languages, also, the same particles are used in the formation of what may be termed the moods and tenses of the verb; such as, *pa*, *pe*, *te*. *Hoei*, which in Chinese forms the future tense, appears in the form of *gooa* in the dialect of the Friendly Islands, of *hoi* in that of the Society Islands, and of *koa* in that of New Zealand. The very aspect of the Chinese and Polynesian verbs is sufficient of itself to afford a presumption of the affinity of the languages: thus;—

CHINESE.		POLYNESIAN (NEW ZEALAND).	
Pa pou te ngo ngai.	O that I might love.	Koa kai ke pe oki au.	I might have eaten.
Ngo pi ta ngai.	I am loved by him.	E kai ana koe.	Thou eatest.

* The New Zealanders allege that the flea, which, it seems, is not an indigenous inhabitant of their island, but a sort of free-emigrant intruder, was introduced by the English, and they consequently designate it *e pa keha nohi nohi, the little European.*

5. Similar, and these remarkably peculiar, sounds abound in both languages. Consonantal sounds are much less numerous in the Chinese and Polynesian languages than in those of Europe and Western Asia; and the number of vowel sounds is consequently much greater. Words, which in Roman characters would be represented by the very same combinations of letters, are found to have the most opposite significations; the accentuation, and the depth, strength, or weakness of the intonation of the vowel-sound, rendering what appears to a European the same word, susceptible of a variety of meanings, or rather originating a whole series of different words. This peculiarity, the reader will doubtless perceive, is much more likely to originate endless varieties of dialect than the consonantal languages of Europe, in which the landmarks or consonants are not so easily got over or worn down. Hence it has actually happened, that while the written language of China is universally intelligible, not only in China Proper and in the provinces of Chinese Tartary, but also in Japan and in Cochin-China,—

every province, every city, nay, almost every village of the celestial empire, has its own peculiar dialect, which, according to the Jesuits of the Propaganda mission, is often scarcely intelligible beyond its own narrow limits. On the other hand, while the tendency in the Chinese language seems to have been to get rid of final vowels, the tendency in some of the Polynesian dialects has been to get rid of consonants, and to reduce the language to a series of endless combinations of vowel sounds. The nasal sound *ng* is remarkably prevalent, both in the beginning and at the end of words, in the languages of China and Polynesia. Thus :—

CHINESE.		POLYNESIAN (NEW ZEALAND.)	
Ngaa*	Teeth.	Nganga	Skull.
Ngaan	Eyes.	Ngako	Fat.
Ngo	I.	Ngutu (Utu, Tahit.)	Lip.
Tchuong	Long.	Rangi	Heaven.
Tung	Brass.	Tangi	Cry.

In the Polynesian dialects, *t* and *k* are convertible, and so also are *l*, *r*, and *d*. *Ariki*, *a*

* In the Tahitian dialect, in which the nasal sound becomes a guttural intonation, the word for *teeth* is *niho*. I conceive it is the same as the Chinese word.

conjuror, in the New Zealand dialect, becomes *Arii*, with a guttural intonation, in the dialect of Otaheite; while *Tangata*, a man, becomes *Taata*, with a similar intonation, marking the place of the lost consonantal sound. This intonation is so peculiar as to impress the person who hears it for the first time with the idea that the vowel-sound has stuck in the speaker's throat.

6. Various words are of the same signification in both languages. Thus :—

CHINESE.		POLYNESIAN.	
T'hai	The sea.	Tai	The sea.
I'u*	Fish.	I'yu (Tahitian)*	Fish.
Yu	Rain.	Ua	Rain.
Tong	East.	Tonga	East.
Ngau	Bite.	Ngau	Bite (gnaw).
Nga-dow	Brow.	Nga-du	Wave, q.d. Brow of the sea.
How	Mouth.	Vaha (Tahitian)	Mouth.
Ko tsau	Blood.	To To (Tahitian)	Blood.

These coincidences occur in a comparatively small number of words, from each of the two languages under review. I am confident, however, that if the investigation were pursued, hundreds of

* The guttural intonation is the same in both cases. In the Malayan and New Zealand dialects the consonant is preserved, and the word is pronounced *ika*.

words might be found in the Chinese language nearly, if not entirely, coincident in signification with words of exactly similar sound in one or other of the numerous dialects of the Polynesian tongue. At all events, I conceive there is reason to conclude, that both the nations and the languages of China and Polynesia have sprung from the same ancient and prolific source; and that the line of demarcation, which Professor Blumenbach has attempted to draw between the Mongolian and the Malayan races of mankind, is purely imaginary.

As it is evident, therefore, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the South Sea Islanders are of cognate origin with the Malays of the Indian Archipelago, and that both of these interesting divisions of the great family of man have originally been derived from the continent of Asia; the next point to be ascertained is, in what manner islands so remote from each other, as many of the South Sea Islands undoubtedly are, could have been successively peopled by a nation so comparatively low in the scale of civilization as the modern tribes of Polynesia.

A glance at the Malayan empire in the east—not indeed in the period of its rise and progress and vigorous existence, (for history affords us no information on that subject,) but in the state it first exhibited to Europeans, that of its decline and fall—may serve in some measure to elucidate this point. It is generally allowed that the islands of Java and Sumatra were the earliest settled by the Malayan nation: these fertile islands may therefore be considered as the head-quarters and the nurseries of their race. There the Malays founded, at an early period, the flourishing and powerful kingdoms of Menangkabau, Acheen, Majapahit, and Japara; the second and the last of which were still so formidable from their maritime force, at a comparatively recent period, as to have almost annihilated the Portuguese empire in the east. Of the first of these ancient kingdoms, Mr. Marsden, who was for some time resident in the island of Sumatra, of which he has given a most interesting account, relates the following particulars:—

"In ancient times the empire of Menangka-

bau, whose capital of the same name is situated in the interior of Sumatra, on the equinoctial line, seems to have comprehended the whole of that large island; the independent chiefs or rajahs, who have seized upon its divided members and assumed sovereign authority along the coast, still acknowledging the claims of the royal family of Menangkabau as the lords paramount of the island, and still giving them nominal deference. From their possession of a written language, and the general diffusion of the knowledge of reading and writing throughout the island, as well as from the state of the arts which at present seem to have declined from their former condition, it would seem that in former times this empire had been much more advanced in civilization than it is at present. One of the great districts into which the island was anciently divided, was denominated Malayo, and its inhabitants *orang Malayo*, or Malays—a name which has since become synonymous with *orang Menangkabau*, or Sumatran Mahometan; the other inhabitants of the island being, for the most part, idolaters. The district so de-

nominated is situated in the south-eastern extremity of Sumatra on the river Malayo, which flows into the river of Palembang. About the year 1160, the people of this district emigrated under their rajah, Sri Turi Briwana, to the south-eastern extremity of the opposite peninsula; and, from their settlement there, the peninsula came to be distinguished by the name of *Tanah Malayo*, or Malayan land.

"On this coast the Malays built their first city, Singapura, where they were much harassed for a long time by the kings of Majapahit, a flourishing and powerful state in the neighbouring island of Java. In consequence of this annoyance, the Malayan rajah retired to the western coast of the peninsula, and built the city of Malacca, so called from a fruit-bearing tree of that name which abounds in its vicinity, in the year 1252. In this new settlement the Malays increased rapidly both in numbers and importance, and successfully resisted repeated attacks from the king of Siam, who, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had become jealous of their power. In

1511 Malacca was taken by the Portuguese, in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah, the twelfth king of the Malays, and the seventh of Malacca. In confirmation of these statements, the Malays of the peninsula uniformly assert that they all came from Sumatra."

The state of the art of navigation among the Malayan nations of the Indian Archipelago in former times may be inferred from the following facts. Shortly after the establishment of the Portuguese in Malacca, in the year 1511, the king of Acheen, a state of very considerable power in the north of Sumatra, waged a long and bloody war against them. In the course of this war " Francesco de Mello being sent in an armed vessel, in the year 1527, from Malacca, with despatches to Goa, met near Acheen Head with a ship of that nation just arrived from Mecca, and supposed to be richly laden. As she had on board three hundred Achinese and forty Arabs, he dared not venture to board her, but battered her at a distance, when suddenly she filled and sunk, to the extreme disappointment of the Portuguese, who thereby

lost their prize; but they wreaked their vengeance on the unfortunate crew, as they endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, and boasted that they did not suffer a man to escape." *

"In the year 1573, after forming an alliance with the queen of Japara, the object of which was the destruction of the European power, the king of Acheen appeared again before Malacca with ninety vessels, twenty-five of them large galleys, with seven thousand men, and great store of artillery. In the year following Malacca was invested with an armada from the queen of Japara of three hundred sail, eighty of which were junks of four hundred tons burden. After besieging the place for three months, till the very air became corrupted by their stay, the fleet retired with little more than five thousand men of fifteen thousand that embarked on the expedition.

"Scarcely was the Javanese force departed, when the king of Acheen once more appeared with a fleet that is described as covering the straits.

* Marsden's "Hist. of Sumatra," p. 423, 424.

He ordered an attack upon three Portuguese frigates that were in the road protecting some provision-vessels; which was executed with such a furious discharge of artillery, that they were presently destroyed with all their crews." *

"In 1582, the king appeared again before Malacca with a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail, and a few years afterwards with three hundred sail. In 1615, he again attacked the settlement with a fleet of five hundred sail and sixty thousand men." †

It would thus appear that on the first opening of the East to Europeans, there were extensive, powerful, and flourishing maritime states of ancient standing established in the Indian Archipelago; the enterprising and warlike population of which had made no inconsiderable progress in the arts of civilization. The conquests of the Arabs, and the voyages of their seafaring converts in the east to the sepulchre of the Arabian prophet, may, doubtless, account for the prevalence of the

* Marsden's "Hist. of Sumatra," p. 431.
† Marsden, *passim*.

Malayan language in the island of Madagascar, although it is much more probable that the settlement of that island had been effected long anterior to the era of Mahomet or the rise of the Saracen power; but the early discovery and the successive settlement of all the islands of the Indian Archipelago were the natural and the necessary result of the existence of an ancient maritime power in that galaxy of isles. Some of these discoveries were, doubtless, the result of accident; others the reward of enterprise. With the islands more favourably situated, a precarious communication would doubtless be maintained for a longer period with the mother country; but as the discovery and settlement of the more distant and isolated isles would in all likelihood be effected by the crews of vessels that had lost their way on the deep sea, their future inhabitants would necessarily remain completely isolated from the rest of mankind.

It would seem indeed that the Indian Archipelago has been traversed from time immemorial both by the Chinese and the Malays. "The

Chinese, it is well known," says M. de Labillardiere, "received spices from the Moluccas many ages before these islands were seized upon by the Europeans."* And for ages past the Malays have had a fishery established on the north coast of New Holland, which they visit annually with a large fleet of proas, to the number of two hundred sail and upwards, in search of a marine slug, called *trepang* or *bêche de la mer*, which they cure for the China market.† We are

* Voyage de M. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 241.

† The north coast of New Holland is called by the Malays Marega, and has been known to them for many years. A fleet, to the number of 200 proas, annually leaves Macassar for this fishery: it sails in January during *the westerly monsoon*, and coasts from island to island, until it reaches the north-east end of Timor, when it steers S. E. and S. S. E., which courses carry them to the coast of New Holland: the body of the fleet then steers eastward, leaving here and there a division of fifteen or sixteen proas under the command of an inferior rajah, who leads the fleet, and is always implicitly obeyed. His proa is the only vessel that is provided with a compass: it has also one or two swivels or small guns, and is perhaps armed with muskets. Their provisions chiefly consist of rice and cocoa-nuts; and their water, which during the westerly monsoon is easily replenished on all parts of the coast, is carried in joints of bamboo. The method of curing the trepang is thus described by Captain Flinders:—"They get the trepang—a marine slug of about six or eight inches in length—by diving in from three to eight fathoms

therefore warranted to conclude that the same adventurous spirit, which had ascertained the exist-

water; and where it is abundant, a man will bring up eight or ten at a time. The mode of preserving it is this: the animal is split down on one side, boiled, and pressed with a weight of stones; then stretched open by slips of bamboo, dried in the sun, and afterwards in smoke; when it is fit to be put away in bags, but requires frequent exposure to the sun. A thousand trepang make a *picol*, of about 125 Dutch pounds; and 100 *picols* are a cargo for a proa. It is carried to Timor and sold to the Chinese, who meet them there; and when all the proas are assembled, the fleet returns to Macassar. By Timor, seemed to be meant Timor-laoet; for, when I inquired concerning the English, Dutch, and Portuguese there, Pobasso (the rajah in command) knew nothing of them: he had heard of Coepang, a Dutch settlement, but said it was upon another island. There are two kinds of trepang. The black, called *baato*, is sold to the Chinese for forty dollars the picol; the white, or gray, called *koro*, is worth no more than twenty. The *baato* seems to be what we found upon the coral reefs near the Northumberland Islands; and were a colony established in Broad Sound, or Shoal-water Bay, it might perhaps derive considerable advantage from the trepang. In the Gulf of Carpentaria we did not observe any other than the gray slug.

"After having fished along the coast to the eastward until the westerly monsoon breaks up, they return, and by the last day of May each detached fleet leaves the coast without waiting to collect into one body. On their return they steer N. W., which brings them to some part of Timor, from whence they easily retrace their steps to Macassar, where the Chinese traders meet them and purchase their cargoes. At this time (1818) the value of the trepang was from forty to fifty dollars a *picol*; so that if each vessel returns with one hundred *picols* of trepang, her cargo will be worth five thousand dollars. Besides trepang, they trade

ence of these distant regions, and rendered them available for the purposes of mercantile speculation, would not only lead enterprising individuals of the Malayan nation to the successive discovery and settlement of all the islands of the Indian Archipelago, at a comparatively early period in the history of the world, but induce them to launch out, like Columbus, in quest of unknown lands into the boundless Pacific. Maritime enterprise is the characteristic of islanders ; and we are warranted to believe, from instances that have occurred within the memory of man, that voyages of discovery have, in all past ages, been undertaken by that adventurous race, whose offspring now inhabit the South Sea Islands, on the most indistinct idea of the existence of any land in the direction of their intended course. A solitary native of the Fiji Islands had been driven to sea by some sudden storm, when fishing in his canoe on the coast, and had landed at length on the Friendly

in sharks' fins and birds' nests, the latter being worth about three thousand dollars the *picol*."—Survey of the Northern and Western coasts of Australia, by Captain King, R. N.; pages 135—138.

Islands, three hundred and sixty miles from his native isle. In such circumstances no European, unacquainted with the science of navigation, would have ventured to put to sea in search of the distant island from which the stranger had been accidentally driven. But the thoughtless Polynesian, fired by the spirit of adventure, disregards the suggestions of prudence, and fearlessly embarks on an expedition as wild as Don Quixote's. Stimulated, accordingly, by the intelligence he had received from the stranger, Tooi Hata Fatai, a chief of the Friendly Islands, set sail for the Fiji Islands some time afterwards, with two hundred and fifty followers, in three large canoes, each of which must have carried upwards of eighty men with provisions for the voyage.

In such voyages, however, the unskilfulness of the pilot, or the unexpected change of the wind, would often carry the adventurous islanders far beyond their reckoning; and in such circumstances they would either founder at sea, or perish of hunger, or be driven they knew not whither, till they reached some unknown and previously un-

discovered island. In the latter case, they would gladly settle on the new-found land, fearful of again trusting themselves to the ocean, and entirely ignorant as to what course they should steer for their native isle.*

This mode of accounting for the gradual peopling of the South Sea Islands is accordant with known facts; for numerous adventurers have been

* "About the time of the commencement of the mission, an American seaman of the name of Robert, accompanied by a number of natives, undertook to convey some books from Rurutu to Rimatara, a distance of about seventy miles. He reached Rimatara in safety; but, on returning, was driven out of his course, and perished with several of his companions. The day after his death the boat was picked up by a vessel, about two hundred miles distant from the island; and, by proper treatment, such of the crew as were still alive recovered from the weakness and exhaustion which famine had induced."—Polynesian Researches, vol. III. p. 392.

"The English missionary from Tahiti was the first foreigner that ever landed on the island of Rapa; but many years before his arrival, an inhabitant of some other island, the only survivor of the party with whom he sailed from his native shores, had been by tempestuous weather drifted to the island, and was found there by the native teachers who first went from Tahiti. His name was Mapuagua, and that of his country Manganeva; which he stated was much larger than Rapa, and situated in a south-easterly direction. The people he described as numerous, and much tattooed; the name of one of their gods the same as that of one formerly worshipped by the Tahitians."—Polynesian Researches, vol. III. p. 374.

known to leave their native islands in these seas, on such hazardous voyages as the one I have just referred to, and have never afterwards been heard of. Nay, instances are frequently occurring in the South Sea Islands of canoes being blown off the land by a sudden squall, or driven out of their course by some other accident of a similar kind, in their short voyages from one group of islands to another. During the last few years, the New South Wales sperm-whale ships have repeatedly fallen in with canoes that had been thus accidentally driven out to sea, and that, but for their assistance and direction, would never again have reached any land. In one instance of the kind that occurred within the last two years, there were two dead bodies in one of the canoes. These calamitous accidents have doubtless been often aggravated and rendered unnecessarily fatal by the mental character and disposition of the South Sea islanders; for, conjoining a remarkable proneness to despondency with their spirit of adventure, when the wind blows strong and adverse in their short and frequent voyages from island to island,

instead of redoubling their exertions, they generally pull down all sail, and extend themselves in sullen despair along the bottom of their canoes, abandoning themselves and their tiny vessel to the mercy of the winds and waves.*

* "There are many well-authenticated accounts," observes Mr. Ellis, "of long voyages performed in native vessels by the inhabitants of both the North and South Pacific. In 1696, two canoes were driven from Ancarso to one of the Philippine Islands, a distance of eight hundred miles. They had run before the wind for seventy days together, sailing from east to west. Thirty-five had embarked, but five had died from the effects of privation and fatigue during the voyage, and one shortly after their arrival. In 1720, two canoes were drifted from a remote distance to one of the Marian Islands. Captain Cook found, in the island of Wateo Atiu inhabitants of Tahiti, who had been drifted by contrary winds in a canoe, from some islands to the eastward, unknown to the natives. Several parties have, within the last few years, reached the Tahitian shores from islands to the eastward, of which the Society Islands had never before heard. In 1820, a canoe arrived at Maurua, about thirty miles west of Borabora, which had come from Rurutu, one of the Austral islands. This vessel had been at sea between a fortnight and three weeks; and, considering its route, must have sailed seven or eight hundred miles. A more recent instance occurred in 1824: a boat belonging to Mr. Williams of Raiatea left that island with a westerly wind for Tahiti. The wind changed after the boat was out of sight of land. They were driven to the island of Atiu, a distance of nearly eight hundred miles in a south-westerly direction, where they were discovered several months afterwards. Another boat, belonging to Mr. Barff of Huahine, was passing between that island and Tahiti about the same time, and has never since been heard of; and subsequent instances of equally distant and perilous voyages

But although many of the South Sea Islands may have been indebted partly to accidents of this kind, and partly to the spirit of adventure, for their original inhabitants, the state of society that has hitherto subsisted in these islands affords an additional means of accounting satisfactorily for the distribution of man over the vast plain of the Pacific. The South Sea Islands have from time immemorial been, like the ancient Greek democracies, the scene of frequent, if not perpetual, civil war; and the cruel practice of the victors has uniformly been, if possible, to exterminate the vanquished, either by putting them to death on shore, or by forcing them out to sea.* In the civil wars of the Society Islands, previous to the

in canoes or open boats might be cited."—Polynesian Researches, vol. 1. page 126.

* In the year 1799, when Finow, a Friendly Island chief, acquired the supreme power in that most interesting group of islands, after a bloody and calamitous civil war, in which his enemies were completely overpowered, the barbarian forced a number of the vanquished to embark in their canoes and put to sea; and during the revolution that issued in the subversion of paganism in Otaheite, the rebel chiefs threatened to treat the English missionaries and their families in a similar way. In short, the atrocious practice is, agreeably to the Scotch law-phrase, "use and wont," in the South Sea Islands.

general conversion of their inhabitants to Christianity, the victors uniformly dispersed themselves along the coast after a battle, and lay in ambush for weeks together at the entrance of the valleys or ravines that communicate with the mountains, to kill the miserable creatures that had escaped their vengenance in the fight, whenever hunger should allure them from their hiding-places to seek for sustenance on the plains. In such circumstances, it was natural for as many of the vanquished as were able to do so, to embark in their canoes immediately after their defeat, and rather trust themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves than wait for certain death from their enemies on the land. This, however, is not mere conjecture. The circumstance is known to have occurred repeatedly during the last fifty years, in those islands with which Europeans are acquainted. In the Powmotu Islands, a group to the eastward of Otaheite, there had been a civil war about twenty years ago; and after a battle a party of the vanquished had in the terror of defeat immediately betaken themselves to their canoes and

put to sea. They were wafted by the trade-wind to Otaheite. By some fortunate turn of affairs, however, the vanquished party had subsequently got the ascendancy; and a number of those who had been victors in the first instance had in like manner been defeated and driven to sea. They also reached Otaheite, and they had no sooner landed than their former enemies still retaining their animosity, and conceiving they had obtained an excellent opportunity for vengeance, prepared to give them battle. Pomare, however, the first Christian king of Otaheite, interfered, and prevented their fighting, telling them, that whatever they might choose to do in their own island, they should not wage war in his.

It has appeared to me, that the use of particular words and phrases in the different dialects of the South Sea Islands might throw some light on the past history of their respective inhabitants, by indicating the place or island from which they had originally come. The Sandwich Islanders call England *ka-heite*. It is the same word as *Tahiti* in the Tahitian, and Tawiti in the dialect of New Zealand, and signi-

fies *distant land*.* Supposing, therefore, that the first inhabitants of Tahiti—the principal island of the group to which it belongs—had discovered and landed on that island in one or other of the ways I have described, and after suffering unheard-of privations while they drifted perhaps for weeks in succession on the boundless ocean, what name could have been more beautifully and more affectingly appropriate than *Tahiti*, the *distant land?* It was so, indeed, to them; for they had doubtless been long in finding it, and they could never have indulged the slightest hope of revisiting their own.

On glancing at the chart of the Pacific Ocean, it would seem probable that the first inhabitants of New Zealand had reached that island from the Friendly Islands, a group lying to the northward and westward. The internal evidence afforded by the dialect of New Zealand confirms this presumption; as it bears a much closer resemblance to that of the Friendly, than to that of the Society, Islands; while the tradition of the natives is, that

* The word *tanah*, in the Malayan language, signifies *land* or untry.

the first inhabitants of the island arrived from the north-westward. Supposing then that New Zealand had been originally discovered and taken possession of by a party that had sailed, perhaps on some short voyage, from the island of Tonga, the principal island in the Friendly Island group, and been accidentally driven to sea, it is evident that, coming from within the Tropics, there would be no word in their language to denote such a substance as *snow*. On seeing the strange substance, therefore, for the first time after their arrival in New Zealand, and ascertaining its coldness and insipidity, it would be quite natural for them to exclaim, when sorrowfully recollecting the comfortable country they had left for ever, *Tonga diro!* Tonga lost! This is the singular phrase, in the New Zealand dialect, for snow.*

* It is worthy of remark, that the dialect of Chatham Island—a small island to the eastward of New Zealand—bears a greater affinity to the Tahitian than to the New Zealand dialect of the Polynesian language; while the dialect spoken in an island recently discovered within a moderate distance of Otaheite bears a stronger affinity to that of New Zealand. It would therefore appear that the population of these isolated islands had been originally derived not from the islands nearest them, but from others

Whether the first inhabitants of New Zealand had been driven from their native island by accident or by the fortune of war, it is impossible to ascertain. There is a singular feature, however, in the political aspect of that portion of the Polynesian nation, which I conceive throws some light on the history of their original migration, as well as on the origin of a horrible practice, which, to the utter disgrace of humanity, has certainly been extensively prevalent in that island, as well as in many of the other islands of the Pacific Ocean. The practice I allude to is that of cannibalism; and the feature in the political aspect of the island, that serves to account in some measure for the origin and prevalence of that practice in New Zealand, is the absence of every thing like a distinction of cast.

I have already remarked, that the Asiatic distinction of cast has been preserved with greater exactness in the Friendly Islands than in most of

at a much greater distance—a circumstance which is not at all improbable, when we take into consideration the uncertainty of winds and currents in so extensive an ocean as the Pacific.

the other groups. But in the island of New Zealand, whose first inhabitants were in all likelihood Friendly Islanders, there is no distinction of cast whatever; every New Zealander, who is not a prisoner of war, i. e. a slave, professing himself a *rangatira*, or gentleman. We cannot suppose, however, that a large canoe filled with people, either hastily collected after a defeat in time of war, or proceeding on a voyage to some neighbouring island in time of peace—for it must have been by a party of natives in such circumstances that the island of New Zealand was first discovered—should have left the Friendly Islands without having persons on board of various casts. But if the wretched inmates of such a vessel had by any accident been kept so long at sea (as they must necessarily have been ere they reached New Zealand) as to have expended all their stock of provisions, their only and their miserable resource (one shudders to think of it!) would be to kill and eat one of their own number. And in such a case of direful emergency, the first victim would doubtless be the man of lowest cast; for the

idea of putting a person of inferior cast on the same level with a noble or chief, in any circumstances, would never occur to a Polynesian. It is therefore highly probable, from the present state of society in New Zealand, that the miserable wretches who first landed on that island had previously been so long at sea, that they had successively killed and eaten every individual of inferior cast on board their vessel; and that ere they reached the unknown land, they had become, through absolute necessity, ferocious cannibals. That the taste for human flesh, which had been acquired in this manner by the fathers of the New Zealand nation, should afterwards have been found to minister to the desire of vengeance, or been indulged in for its own sake, is not at all extraordinary. We read in the book of Job, chap. xxxi. 31. "Oh that we had of his flesh! we cannot be satisfied." And in Burckhardt's "Travels in Nubia," we find the following trait of brutality given as an illustration of the vindictive character of a Nubian tribe. "Among the Hallenga, who draw their origin from Abyssinia, a horrible cus-

tom is said to attend the revenge of blood: when the slayer has been seized by the relatives of the deceased, a family feast is proclaimed, at which the murderer is brought into the midst of them bound upon an angareyg (or sofa), and while his throat is slowly cut with a razor, the blood is caught in a bowl and handed round among the guests; every one of whom is bound to drink of it at the moment the victim breathes his last."*

When Shunghee (E Ongi), a New Zealand chief, who had been in England, where he was taken much notice of in certain high quarters, returned to New South Wales, he happened to see Inacki, another chief with whom he had had an ancient feud, in the town of Sydney. He there told his adversary, that when they got back to New Zealand he would fight him. Inacki accepted the challenge; and Shunghee accordingly assembled, on his return to New Zealand, no fewer than two thousand men to attack Inacki. The latter was prepared to receive him, and for some time the event of the battle that ensued was doubtful. At

* "Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia," page 356.

length Shunghee, who had the greatest number of muskets, and who had arranged his men in the form called in Roman tactics the *cuneus* or wedge, placing himself at the apex and directing those behind him to wheel round on the enemy from the right and left, or to fall back into their original position as opportunity offered, shot Inacki. On perceiving his enemy mortally wounded, the savage immediately sprung forward, scooped out the eye of the dying man with his English knife, and instantly swallowed it; and then holding his hands to his throat, into which he had afterwards plunged the knife, and from which the blood flowed copiously, drank as much of the horrid beverage as they could hold. On his return to the Bay of Islands he had about twenty captives bound hand and foot in his war-canoe, whom he intended to retain as slaves. But his daughter, hearing of his arrival, and learning at the same time that her own husband had been killed in the battle, came down to the beach to upbraid her father with being accessary to his death. To pacify her and to make her some amends for the

loss of her husband, Shunghee immediately caused the captives to be laid with their heads over the gunwale of the canoe, and with a sword, which he had received as a present in a high quarter in England, smote off the heads of sixteen of them successively in cold blood.

That cannibalism is also practised in various islands of the South Seas, where neither necessity nor the desire of revenge can be urged as a palliation of the revolting practice, cannot be doubted. Captain —— a Scotchman of respectable character, who commanded one of the government vessels of New South Wales a few years since, has told me that while he was lying at the Marquesas many years ago, he had seen human viscera hung up for use in the same way as a sheep's or bullock's are frequently seen in England; and that, on inquiring on one occasion of an elderly woman what had become of a little orphan boy she seemed to be rearing, and to whom he had himself got somewhat attached, he was horrified to learn that the boy had been killed and eaten. Nay, he

assured me that he was once offered a human finger himself as a peculiar delicacy.

The heart sickens at such recitals. But these recitals enable us to estimate at what a prodigious expense of human life, and at what a prodigious amount of human suffering, the islands of the South Seas, situated as some of them are at vast distances from the nearest islands, must have been originally peopled. Where one canoe, in the circumstances I have described, was fortunate enough to reach some unknown land in the vast ocean, we may conclude that many must have been lost, after scenes of bloodshed and cannibalism had been transacted on board them, at the very idea of which the imagination revolts with horror. When, however, I find so obvious, so sufficient, and so satisfactory an explanation of the origin and the general prevalence of cannibalism in the South Sea Islands, I feel inclined to be somewhat sceptical in regard to its being a religious observance—bearing a sort of symbolical resemblance, forsooth, to the doctrine of the atonement—as certain *wise men of the east* have supposed. But

there are missionaries, as well as philosophers, who are never satisfied with a plain and obvious reason for any thing, if they can only allege one that is either incredible or recondite.

The grand objection that is usually urged against all attempts to refer the South Sea Islanders to an Asiatic origin, is derived from the supposed uniform prevalence of the north-east and south-east trade-winds within the tropics. But the testimony of that eminent and lamented navigator, La Perouse, is decisive as to the invalidity of such an objection. "Westerly winds," says that eminent navigator, "are *at least as frequent* as those from the eastward, in the vicinity of the equator, in a zone of seven or eight degrees north and south; and they," i. e. the winds in the equatorial regions, "are so variable that it is very little more difficult to make a voyage to the eastward than to the westward."— La Perouse's Voyages, chap. 25. For my own part, the second time I crossed the line from the northward, our vessel lost the north-east trade-wind as high as the fourteenth degree of north latitude; and the last time I crossed the

equator from the southward (in September, 1833) we experienced a south-westerly gale of several days' continuance, after losing the south-east trade-wind, which had carried us as high as the sixth degree of north latitude. Nay, I have been informed by a nautical gentleman of experience, that he once encountered a south-westerly gale of twelve days' continuance considerably within the tropics.

There is so much misconception, however, on this point, that writers of some eminence have laid it down as an incontrovertible axiom that the South Sea Islands could not have been peopled from the westward, in consequence of the supposed uniform prevalence of the north-east and south-east trade-winds within the tropics. But while the testimony of the great French navigator is conclusive as to the non-prevalence of these winds within certain limits, (viz. within an equatorial belt of eight hundred and forty geographical miles in breadth,) including a large proportion of the South Sea Islands, the other facts I have stated are sufficient to show that even within the limits

that are supposed to be sacred to the trade, or easterly, winds, winds from the opposite direction are occasionally experienced. At certain seasons of the year the south-east trade blows nearly due south; and I have heard of frequent instances of vessels crossing the equator from the northward without having experienced any thing like a north-east trade-wind at all.* Nay, there is direct evidence of the highest character as to the prevalence of westerly winds at certain seasons in the equatorial regions of the Western Pacific to a much higher degree of latitude than the one mentioned by La Perouse. "It was very clear to me," says Captain (afterwards Governor) Hunter, in the narrative of his voyage from Port Jackson to Batavia, in the year 1791, "from the winds

* The long narrow form of the canoes of the South Sea Islanders enables them to sail *much closer to the wind* than European vessels. They are so constructed as to enable them, (to use a maritime phrase,) *to run up into the wind's eye*. The mystery of their getting to the eastward is therefore by no means inexplicable. It is not unworthy of remark, that the singular phrase I have just made use of obtained among the ancient Greek sailors. The scholar will find it in the account of Paul's shipwreck, in the Acts of the Apostles—*ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τῷ ἀνέμῳ*.

we had experienced since we came to the northward of the line, that at this time of the year, (the end of July,) and generally during the height of the south-west monsoon in the China seas, these (westerly) winds do sometimes extend far to the eastward of the Philippine Islands, and frequently blow in very heavy gales." At the time he made this observation, Captain Hunter adds, "we were in latitude 13° 25′ north; longitude 128° 37′ east; Cape Espiritu Sancto bearing south, 75° west, fifty-eight leagues distant." There is therefore reason to believe, that the westerly winds of the Indian Archipelago having once driven the Malays into the Pacific Ocean, these adventurous islanders subsequently passed from island to island till they peopled the numerous equatorial islands of that extensive ocean; and that individuals of the same seafaring and adventurous race, driven from their native isles by accident or by the fortune of war, have in the lapse of ages been carried as far to the eastward as Easter Island, within eighteen hundred miles of the American land, to New Zealand in the southern,

and to the Sandwich Islands in the northern, hemisphere.*

De Zuniga, a Spanish author, who has written a history of the Philippine Islands, presuming on the uniform prevalence of easterly winds within the tropics, most preposterously combats the idea of the Asiatic origin of the Polynesian nation, and maintains the singular hypothesis that the South Sea Islanders have originally come from the continent of America—crossing the Pacific within the tropics to the islands nearest the American land, and passing successively from island to island till they landed at length on Java, Sumatra, and Madagascar. This amazingly preposterous supposition he endeavours to maintain, moreover, by alleging certain affinities which he conceives subsist between the languages of the Indians of Chili and of the native inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. It is proper, however, to allow the Spaniard to speak for himself.

* Captain Beechey, R. N. fell in with a party of South Sea Islanders from Otaheite, who had been driven six hundred miles to windward, i. e. to the eastward, by a gale of westerly wind within the tropics.

"No doubt can be entertained," says M. de Zuniga, "that the radical language, from which all these (Polynesian) dialects spring, prevails from Madagascar to the Philippines, with local shades of difference. It is spoken, too, in New Guinea, and in all the islands to the southward, in the Marianas, in the islands of San Duisk," (the Sandwich Islands,) "in those of Otaheite, and in almost all the islands in the South Sea as far as the isle of Pasquas," (Easter Island,) "which is not more than six hundred leagues distant from the coast of South America. On observing that *the proper names of places, about the middle of the continent of South America, are very similar to those of the Philippines,* I endeavoured to procure a vocabulary of this country, and did not fail to examine with great diligence and attention the few words of the language of Chili which Erçilla mentions in his Araucana, *and which I found perfectly conformable to the language of Tagala.* The name *Chili* is a derivation from this language: the cormorant is called *cochile;* and this is a name which the Malays give

to the sons of their kings. *Chilian*, which is a town of Chili, is a compound from the language of Tagala, in which language the termination *an* gives the signification *town*. Thus, from *Cachile*, we draw *Cachilian*, meaning a town where there are cormorants. *Mapocho*, which is the situation where the city of Santiago stands, is another word of Tagalic composition, signifying a town; and *pocquiot* being a kind of herb, we form the name *Mapocquiot*, a town in which there is abundance of this herb. In Chili, they frequently double the syllables in forming a word, as *ytayta*, *biobio*, *lemolemo*, *colocolo*. A great many other words are either actually of Tagalic derivation, or assimilate closely to that language. *In examining the structure of these two languages, we are compelled to conclude that they flow from one and the same source; and I dare affirm that the Indians in the Philippines are descended from the aborigines of Chili and Peru*, and that the language of these islands derives itself immediately from the parent source, those of the neighbouring islands being dialects of this. Many will urge the absurdity of this supposition, on the plea that the more imme-

diate vicinity of the Philippines to Malacca must have occasioned them to be colonized by the Malays, as our historians generally assert. I do not deny that these islands could easily have been peopled by the Malays; but how could they colonize the Islas de Palaos and the Marianas, which are distant more than three hundred leagues? And it is still more improbable that they colonized the islands of San Duisk and Otaheite, which are distant two thousand leagues from the Philippines. All these people, however, have the same language, the same manners and customs, and consequently the same origin as our Indians. There is, in my opinion, this other reason for supposing these latter islands could not be peopled from the westward, viz. that in all the torrid zone the east wind generally prevails, which, being in direct opposition to the course from Malacca and the adjacent islands, it is fair to conclude that the inhabitants of all the islands of the South Sea came from the east, sailing before the wind: for we have seen it often happen that the Indians from the Palaos have arrived at the Philippines precisely under these circumstances. On the

contrary, we have no instance on record of any of the Philippine Indians having been even, by accident, carried by the winds to the islands to the eastward. Indeed, we know the reverse of this to be true, since at times the most experienced pilots, in attempting this navigation, have been compelled to return without falling in with the islands they went in search of, from the necessity there is, in the voyage, of being provided with proper nautical instruments. Here, therefore, we appear to have found the most probable solution of our difficulties; that is, that the first settlers came out of the east, (we may presume from the coast of South America,) and proceeding gradually to the westward, through the Pacific Ocean, *studded as we find it with islands at no very great distance from each other,* and of course of easy access before the wind, it follows that to whatever point in an eastern direction we can trace the Tagalic language, we may conclude that at that point emigration must have commenced."*

* "Historia de las Islas Philipinas, por Martinez de Zuniga." i. 2. Manila, 1803.

Having already established the identity of the Polynesian nation with those of the Indian Archipelago, and having shown that the ground on which the Spaniard builds his singular hypothesis, viz. the supposed uniform prevalence of easterly winds in the South Seas, is altogether untenable, it is scarcely necessary to show that the supposition he has adopted is objectionable on other and still higher grounds. For while the Indians of America neither are nor ever have been a maritime nation, it is utterly incredible, even supposing that they had, that voyages of discovery, such as the Spaniard's hypothesis supposes, would ever have been undertaken from the shores of that continent for the chance of finding land amid the billows of a boundless ocean. The west coast of South America is in general exceedingly sterile, and its shore is lashed incessantly by a tremendous surf. The land and the sea in that section of the American continent are therefore alike unpromising to the Indian; and he has consequently been obliged to retreat from the inhospitable region, and to fix the head-quarters of his

tribe on the elevated plains or in the deep valleys of the Andes.

I confess, however, that it was the argument which the Spaniard adduces in support of his untenable hypothesis, from the fact of an affinity subsisting between the languages of Chili and Tagala, that led me to pursue this investigation to a much greater length than I at first proposed; but the result, I am happy to state, has been equally gratifying and unexpected, as I flatter myself the investigation will throw a flood of light on one of the darkest and most mysterious chapters in the history of man.

Pasquas, or Easter Island, which is inhabited by a branch of the Polynesian nation, is situated within one thousand eight hundred miles of the continent of America, but at the distance of not less than eight thousand miles from the Philippines. Are we not warranted, therefore, to conclude that the same causes that have evidently operated during a long succession of ages in carrying individuals of the Malayan race across so extensive an ocean, and to so vast a distance from

the earlier settlements of their nation—filling every solitary isle in their trackless course with a numerous population—may have also operated in carrying other individuals of that amphibious nation across the remaining tract of ocean to the coast of America? How many a canoe must not have been ingulfed in the wide Pacific, and how many a feast of blood must not have been enacted amid its *billowy boundlessness*, ere the solitary isle of Pasquas was discovered and settled! The event of a battle in that solitary isle, or one of the other accidents to which the rude natives of an island in the South Seas are necessarily exposed, may have given the first inhabitants to America. In short, I conceive there is abundant reason to believe that America was originally peopled from the continent of Asia; not, as is generally supposed, by way of the Aleutian Islands at the entrance of Behring's Straits, but by way of the South Sea Islands and across the widest part of the Pacific Ocean.

When America was first discovered and colonized by Europeans, the western equatorial re-

gions of that continent were the seat of extensive, flourishing, and powerful empires, the inhabitants of which were well acquainted with the science of government, and had made no inconsiderable progress in the arts of civilization. At a time when the institution of posts was unknown in Europe, it was in full operation in the empire of Mexico; at a time when a public highway was either a relic of Roman greatness, or a sort of non-entity in England, there were roads of fifteen hundred miles in length in the empire of Peru. The feudal system was as firmly established in these transatlantic kingdoms as in France, and the system of etiquette that regulated the intercourse of the different ranks of society was as complete and as much respected as in the court of Philip the Second. The Peruvians were ignorant of the art of forming an arch, but they had constructed suspension-bridges across frightful ravines; they had no implements of iron, but their forefathers could move blocks of stone as huge as the sphinxes and the Memnons of Egypt. The Mexicans were unacquainted with the art of forming cast-metal

pipes, but they had constructed dikes or causeways as compact as those of Holland; and their capital, which was situated in the centre of a salt-water lake, was supplied with a copious stream of fresh water, brought from beyond the lake in an aqueduct of baked clay. They had had no Cadmus to give them an alphabet; but their picture-writing enabled them to preserve the memory of past events and to transmit it to posterity.

So interesting a phenomenon is, I conceive, utterly unaccountable on the supposition that America was originally peopled, as Dr. Robertson supposes, from the continent of Asia by way of the Aleutian Islands. For as that part of the Asiatic continent which approaches the nearest to the American land is exceedingly inhospitable, and is inhabited by a race of men in a state of the lowest barbarism, it is contrary to the uniform experience of mankind to suppose that the comparatively high state of civilization I have just described could have originated in so desolate a region, or been derived from so barbarous a race.

The savage Esquimaux of the Arctic regions of America may have sprung from the equally savage hordes of Kamtschatka and Oonalaschka; but other blood must have circled in the veins of the comparatively civilized inhabitant of Mexico and Peru. For,

1st. It is an easy and natural process for man to degenerate in the scale of civilization, as the Asiatics have evidently done in travelling to the northward and eastward. He has only to move forward a few hundred miles into the wilderness, and settle himself at a distance from all civilized men, and the process will advance with almost incredible celerity. For, whether he comes in contact with actual savages or not, in the dark recesses of the forest, his offspring will speedily arrive at a state of complete barbarism. But,

2nd. It is absolutely an unheard-of thing for a whole nation to rise by its own energies from a state of barbarism to a state of comparative civilization, as is generally, but gratuitously supposed, in regard to the Indians of Mexico and Peru. For, in so far as history informs us of the past condition of our species, we may unhesi-

tatingly assert that no nation has ever yet risen from a state of savage barbarism to a state of comparative civilization, unless some civilizing impulse has been communicated, and unless some lever, powerful enough to raise the nation from its lower level, has been worked *from without.*

I am quite aware that the latter of these positions is directly opposed to the frequently expressed opinions of Gibbon, Hume, Lord Kaimes, and Helvetius, as well as of certain other philosophers of the modern German school. "The discoveries of ancient and modern navigation," says the elegant historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, "and the domestic history or traditions of the most enlightened nations, represent *the human savage* naked both in mind and body, and destitute of laws, of arts, of ideas, and almost of language. From this abject condition, *perhaps the primitive and universal state of man,* he has gradually arisen to command the animals, to fertilize the earth, to traverse the ocean, and to measure the heavens." *

* "Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," iv. 519.

Such opinions, however, are a mere exemplification of what may be styled *the implicit faith of infidelity*; for, as the case in question is one which can only be decided by an appeal to facts, and in which, therefore, facts and not opinions are to be brought forward as evidence, it is sufficient to observe, in reply to so unphilosophical a species of argumentation, that the whole history of the world does not afford us a single instance of what the historian *implicitly believes* has so frequently occurred—I mean the gradual elevation of a nation by its own inherent energies, from a state of extreme barbarism to a state of great intellectual refinement. If man had been a savage at first, he would have remained a savage for ever. This is the uniform testimony both of ancient and modern history—the invariable language of ascertained and indubitable facts. It is pitiable, however, to hear men of understanding in other respects, descant for such purposes as Mr. Gibbon evidently had in view, about the gradual and the self-originated rise of man from the painted savage to the Newton of his age, through all the inter-

mediate states of the hunter and fisher, the shepherd and agriculturist, the trader and scholar. It is not even "*a cunningly devised fable*" they retail. It is a mere "old wives'" fable, utterly unworthy of philosophy, because utterly unsupported by facts. In short, if the first inhabitants of America had landed on that continent, in the state of the savage Esquimaux, as they must doubtless have done in the event of their reaching it by the Aleutian Islands, we should certainly never have heard of the empires of Mexico and Peru. It remains therefore to be ascertained whether the hypothesis I have advanced explains the phenomena in question.

The vicinity of the Andes to the Pacific Ocean counteracts, for a distance of upwards of a hundred leagues to the westward, the operation of those causes that produce the south-east trade-wind of the Southern Pacific; and the consequence, in that particular locality, of the combined operation of the two causes that most powerfully influence the winds in intertropical regions—I allude to the diurnal revolution of the earth and the vicinity

of a chain of lofty mountains—is a perpetual current of air from the southward along the west coast of South America. Supposing then that some unfortunate natives of Pasquas, or Easter Island,* had been drifted, in one or other of the ways I have already suggested, towards the American coast, they would at length come within the influence of the southerly wind and the northerly current of that coast, and be carried rapidly to the northward. They must therefore have made the land somewhere near the Equator.

Taking it for granted, therefore, that this hypothesis is well founded, we should expect that the earliest and the most advanced settlements of the

* Easter Island is situated in the twenty-seventh degree of south latitude. From Ducies Island, the nearest island of the Southern Pacific to the north-westward, it is distant about nine hundred miles, i. e. half the distance of Easter Island from America. Now, any person at all acquainted with navigation will undoubtedly allow that of two canoes driven accidentally off the land by westerly gales—the one from Ducies Island, and the other from Easter Island—the probability is a hundred times greater that the latter would reach the continent of America, than that the former would reach Easter Island, although the distance is twice greater in the one case than in the other; for there are ten thousand chances to one that the vessel from Ducies Island would cross the meridian of Easter Island without seeing it, but there would be no possibility of getting past America.

aborigines of America would be found in the western and equatorial regions of that continent; and that in proportion as we ascend along the eastern and western shores of both continents, towards Lake Superior on the one hand and Tierra del Fuego on the other, we should find a less numerous and a more degenerate population. But this was precisely the aspect of things in the continent of America when it was first visited by Europeans. "In the New World," says Baron Humboldt, "at the beginning of its conquest, the natives were collected into large societies only on the ridge of the Cordilleras and the coasts opposite to Asia." *

It would not be less preposterous, however, to rest satisfied with an hypothesis of this kind on such general grounds, than it would be to receive the unfounded and irrational hypotheses of those who would derive the aborigines of America from the Welsh or the Norwegians. We must come to particulars, and ascertain whether the sort of

* "Humboldt's Travels," vol. iii. page 209.

civilization (for it was entirely *sui generis* as compared with any thing of European origin) that prevailed in Mexico and Peru, on the discovery of that continent by the Spaniards, had any thing of a Polynesian aspect—whether the manners and customs of the modern aborigines of America bear any resemblance to those of the Polynesian nation—and whether there is any affinity between the languages of these two great divisions of the family of man.

In regard therefore to the first of these tests, I would observe that the species of civilization that prevailed in Mexico and Peru, on the discovery of the continent of America, was essentially Polynesian in its aspect.

1. The Mexican and Peruvian nations were divided into king, nobles, and commons. The king was absolute, but could not go to war or engage in any other undertaking of importance without the assent of a council of chiefs. The chiefs were lords paramount in their own territories. The commons were mere slaves, whose persons and possessions were entirely the property of

their masters. A precisely similar distribution of the component parts of society, and a precisely similar state of dependence of the king on the will of the chiefs are observable in the Friendly and Society Islands.

2. The incas, or sovereigns, of Peru conjoined the regal and sacerdotal offices, agreeably to the ancient and patriarchal usage, *Rex Anius—rex idem, idemque sacerdos.* They were regarded, moreover, as divine personages,—sprung from the gods. Such, however, was also the status of the Tooi Tonga, or royal priest, of the Friendly Islands; and the idea that the royal chiefs were Atuas, or divinities, was universally prevalent in the islands, and was sufficiently evinced in the received opinion, or rather doctrine, that the king consecrated whatever he touched.

3. There was a language of ceremony or deference used in ancient Mexico when inferiors addressed their superiors, and especially when a plebeian addressed a chief, or when the latter addressed his prince. This language did not consist in the use of a few phrases of deference

and respect, such as those in use in European languages in addressing royalty or nobility: it constituted, so to speak, a separate language, and pervaded the whole economy of speech. "The Mexicans," says Dr. Robertson, "had not only reverential nouns, but reverential verbs;" and the use of any other than this reverential language, in conversing with a king or royal chief, would have been held tantamount to high treason. I have already noticed the prevalence of this most remarkable peculiarity in the South Sea Islands, among the Malays of the Indian Archipelago, and the Indo-Chinese nations of Eastern Asia; and it constitutes a feature of resemblance between those widely-dissevered portions of the human family that cannot be mistaken—an evidence of identity that cannot be gainsaid. How deeply-rooted in the mental constitution of these nations, and how closely interwoven with all their habitudes of thought, was the principle in which this very singular practice originated, may be estimated from a practice of a somewhat similar kind that obtained within these few years in the South Sea

Islands. It was a point of established etiquette in the island of Otaheite, that if any word of common use in the language happened to form part of the king's name, it was no longer allowable to use that word thereafter in common conversation; and the object it had designated from time immemorial had thenceforth to be designated by a totally different word. Thus, the word *vai*, signifying *water*, being honoured some time ago in being associated with the name of Tahitian royalty, was thenceforth proscribed in common conversation, and its place supplied by the word *puppi*. The word *po*, signifying *night*, was equally unfortunate as a word of general use in the language, in consequence of being appropriated as part and parcel of the name Pomare—a name which, although rather famous for the last twenty years in the missionary annals of the South Seas, signifies merely *night-cough*, and was given to Pomare in consequence of his being troubled on one occasion with an affection of that kind.

4. The right of property was recognised and established among the Indo-American nations,

but the lower orders generally cultivated a considerable extent of ground in common, the produce of which was laid up by their superiors in storehouses called *tambos*, and distributed to each as he had need. I have already noticed the storehouses of New Zealand, in which either the seed-potatoes are annually deposited, or a quantity of provisions laid up for the public service against any emergency. The kumaras, or sweet potatoes of that island, are always cultivated *pro bono publico* by persons set apart for the purpose; the produce being afterwards distributed. The storehouses in New Zealand are always *taboo:* I suspect the Spaniards have reported the word inaccurately, for the Mexican *tambo* is unquestionably the same word as the Polynesian *taboo.*

5. Taxes were levied in kind for the support of the government of Mexico. They are levied in a similar way in the South Sea Islands; and in Otaheite, under the late king Pomare, they were levied with such effect that the oppressed and ruined people rose at length in rebellion, and forced him off the island. "It would be well for us," said a poor Tahitian to a Scotch mis-

sionary, who was resident on the island previous to the revolution, "if Pomare were to be content with only one, two, or three pigs, like the king of England; but he sends first for one, and then for another, and then for a third—and so on till he has taken the whole litter." Pomare embraced Christianity during his banishment, and was induced by the missionaries to pass a Reform Bill, and give his subjects a constitution. Taxation by representation is therefore the order of the day at present in Tahiti; and in that particular, at all events, the Tahitians have now got the start of His Majesty's Australian Colonies.

6. A variety of handicrafts were practised in Mexico; and the Spaniards were often astonished not only at the perseverance of the Indians, but at the neatness of their work compared with the rudeness of their implements. Similar remarks have been made a thousand and a thousand times in regard to the South Sea Islanders.

7. The Mexicans were remarkably fond of ornaments, and formed figures of birds, &c., with variously-coloured feathers neatly disposed. The South Sea Islanders are equally fond of orna-

ments; and they form som of those that are most highly prized in a precisely similar way.

8. The Peruvians cultivated the ground with a mattock of hard wood. So also do the New Zealanders. The Mexicans, Humboldt informs us, manufactured a sort of paper exactly similar in its texture to the paper-cloth of Otaheite.

9. The Indo-American nations had no temples properly so called, i. e. buildings for religious purposes having a roof; but they erected solid mounds of earth, which were ascended by a flight of stone steps, and surmounted with a sort of altar. Similar *high places* are erected in the South Sea Islands, and are called *Morais* or *Malais*. I have been told that the famous English navigator, Captain Cook, was placed on one of these erections in the Sandwich Islands, and received divine honours from the ignorant natives. I trust, however, that the story is either a calumny, (but I had it, I am sorry to say, from good authority,) or that the unfortunate navigator, who met his death so very shortly thereafter, was not aware of what the islanders were doing.

10. The divinities that were worshipped by the Mexicans were supposed to require human victims to be offered in sacrifice on their altars; and such victims were accordingly offered, to the number of several thousands annually. The same horrible superstition prevailed in Otaheite, where the dead body of the human victim, who had perhaps been designated by the priest, and knocked on the head without any previous warning by one of his emissaries, was generally suspended in a basket of wicker-work to the branch of a tree near the *Morai* of the god, and left to putrefy in the open air.

11. The houses of the Mexicans had no windows, and the door was always so low that they had to stoop down on crossing the threshold. The New Zealander constructs his hut in a precisely similar way.

12. Remains of ancient buildings in a singularly massive style of architecture are found in various parts of the continent of America—to the northward as well as to the southward of the equator. These remains consist,—first, of temples;

second, of pyramids; third, of tumuli; and fourth, of fortifications: and it is a circumstance worthy of particular observation, that precisely similar remains, of a remote and comparatively civilized antiquity, are found in the South Sea Islands.

The Spanish writers on South America describe the remains of an ancient Peruvian temple, consisting of an enclosed space open at the top, of which the walls are about twelve feet in height and consist of stones of an immense size, some of them being thirty feet long, eighteen broad, and six feet thick. These stones are not cemented with mortar; neither have they been squared to join closely to each other, like hewn stones in a European building, although the stones of ancient Peruvian buildings are sometimes found hewn into regular forms; but cavities have been wrought with the utmost exactness, and with incredible labour, in one stone to receive the natural or accidental protuberances of another.

Baron Humboldt has also described various ancient Peruvian pyramids, to which, however, it will be more suitable to refer more particularly in the

sequel, but which, for the massiveness of their structure and the boldness of their design, that accomplished traveller does not hesitate to compare with the pyramids of Egypt.

In speaking of structures of a precisely similar kind erected by the South Sea Islanders, Mr. Ellis observes, "The form of the interior or area of their temples was frequently that of a square or a parallelogram, the sides of which extended forty or fifty feet. Two sides of this space were enclosed by a high stone wall; the front was protected by a low fence; and opposite a solid pyramidal structure was raised, in front of which the images were kept and the altars fixed. These piles were often immense. That which formed one side of the square of the large temple in Atehuru, according to Mr. Wilson, by whom it was visited when in a state of preservation, was two hundred and seventy feet long, ninety-four wide at the base, and fifty feet high, being at the summit one hundred and eighty feet long, and six wide. A flight of steps led to its summit; the bottom step was six feet high. The outer stones of the pyramid, composed of coral and

basalt, were laid with great care, and hewn or squared with immense labour, especially the *tiavâ*, or corner-stones." *

Tumuli, constructed, in some instances, of immense stones, and in others, as on the banks of the Ohio, of mounds of earth, are also found among the remains of ancient civilization, both in the South Sea Islands and in America. The island of Tonga Taboo, which contains a population of ten thousand souls, is of coral formation, and is almost level with the ocean. There is a tomb, however, in one part of it of great antiquity, called by the natives the tomb of Toobo Tooi, and constructed of immense stones, such as the present natives of Tonga, in the existing state of the mechanical arts in the Friendly Islands, would be utterly unable to move. These stones, however, must have been brought on rafts from some other island, as there is no other stone on the island of Tonga of the size of a pigeon's egg. Remains of ancient buildings, in a similar style of architecture, were found by Lord Anson in the island of

* "Polynesian Researches," vol. i. p. 340.

Tinian, to the eastward of the Indian Archipelago.

Remains of a similar character are found also in Pasquas, or Easter Island, situated in lat. 27° south, and 109° west long.—the nearest of all the South Sea Islands to the continent of America. "The most remarkable objects in Easter Island," says Mr. Ellis, "are its monuments of stone-work and sculpture, which, though rude and imperfect, are superior to any found among the more numerous and civilized tribes inhabiting the South Sea Islands. These monuments consist in a number of terraces or platforms built with stones, cut and fixed with great exactness and skill, forming, though destitute of cement, a strong durable pile. On these terraces are fixed colossal figures or busts. They appear to be monuments erected in memory of ancient kings or chiefs, as each bust or column had a distinct name. One of these, of which Forster took the dimensions, consisted of a single stone twenty feet high and five wide, and represented a human figure to the waist; on the crown of the head a stone of cylindrical shape

was placed erect: this stone was of a different colour from the rest of the figure, which appeared to be formed of a kind of cellular lava. In one place, seven of these statues or busts stood together: one, which they saw lying on the ground was twenty-seven feet long, and nine in diameter." *

Remains of ancient and regular fortifications have also been discovered in both continents of America; and the circumstance has repeatedly awakened much curiosity respecting the origin, the history, and the fate of the nation that has left behind it these memorials of its ancient civilization. But regular fortifications of a similar kind are still met with in all parts of the South Sea Islands. In some islands they are constructed of walls of loose stones piled on each other on the tops of hills, as in New Zealand; in others, they are formed of strong palisades, like the Burman stockades, as in the level island of Tonga; and in others they consist of some artificial addition to a place of great natural strength, as in the district

* "Polynesian Researches," vol. iii. p. 326.

of Atehuru in Otaheite. In short, the South Sea Islanders are evidently in a sufficiently advanced state of civilization to enable them to construct fortifications, and to adapt these fortifications, in regard to the materials employed in their construction, to the nature of the country in which they are required.* Those of the Indo-Americans

* Their places of defence were rocky fortresses improved by art—narrow defiles, or valleys, sheltered by projecting eminences —passes among the mountains, difficult of access, yet allowing their inmates a secure and extensive range, and an unobstructed passage to some spring or stream. The celebrated Pare (fortress) in Atehuru, was of this kind: the mouth of the valley in which it was situated was built up with a stone wall, and those who fled thither for shelter were generally able to repel their assailants.

Several of these places were very extensive: that at Maeva, in Huahine, bordering on a lake of the same name, and near Mouna-tabui, is probably the best artificial fortification in the islands. Being a square of about half a mile on each side, it encloses many acres of ground well-stocked with bread-fruit, containing several springs, and having within its precincts the principal temple of their tutelar deity. The walls are of solid stonework, in height twelve feet. They are even and regularly paved at the top. On the top of the walls (which in some places were ten or twelve feet thick) the warriors kept watch and slept. Their houses were built within, and it was considered sufficiently large to contain the whole of the population. There were four principal openings in the wall, at regular distances from each other, that in the west being called the king's road. They were designed for ingress and egress; but during a siege were built up with loose stones, when it was considered a *pari haabuca*, an impregnable fortress.—Polynesian Researches, vol. i. pp. 313, 314.

appear to have been generally formed of mounds of earth—a mode of formation well adapted for such localities as the alluvial banks of the Ohio, the dead levels near the lakes of Canada, or the elevated plains of central America, but not at all adapted for the South Sea Islands.*

Nay, the march of ancient civilization among the Indo-Americans may even be traced, in some measure, by these most interesting remains. In South America I have not heard of their being found to the eastward of the Andes. The gloomy forests of Guiana and the Brazils were evidently unfavourable for the preservation of Indo-American civilization ; and the portion of the race that wandered into these vast solitudes was necessarily broken up, at an early period, into an infinity of insignificant tribes that could hold little or no communication with each other, and that, consequently, very soon sunk irrecoverably beneath the level of the rest

* My talented townsman, John Galt, Esq., has informed me that he has seen the remains of an Indian fort on the summit of a precipitous ridge near Lake Simcoe in Upper Canada. It consisted of a mound of earth, enclosing a considerable extent of ground ; but on the banks of the Miamis River, much farther to the southward, the Indian forts have been constructed of stone. Have any such forts, I would ask, been discovered in Kamtschatka ?

of their nation. But the regions of central America, the elevated plains of Bogota and Cundinamarca, the open valleys of Peru, and the lofty and secluded, but highly fertile, tracts of Chili, were much more favourable for the formation and maintenance of powerful states and empires; and it is, accordingly, in these portions of the continent of South America that the ruins of ancient cities and of extensive fortifications are found.* In the North American continent, the course of the Mississippi and its tributary streams would, doubtless, guide the Indian in his progress to the northward; and it is, accordingly, on the banks of the Ohio, in the western prairies and along the lakes of Canada, that we find the monuments of his ancient power.

Inferences, however, are sometimes deduced from these monuments of ancient Indo-American civilization that are by no means warrantable. "Out of a tumulus near Cincinnati," (says the Quarterly Reviewer, No. LVII. page 13.) "were dug two large marine shells, one of which was

* M. Kenous, a Danish traveller, has recently discovered ruins of the kind abovementioned among the Chilian Andes.

the *cassis cornutus* of the Asiatic islands, the other the *fulgur perversus* of the coast of Georgia and East Florida; and hence it has been inferred that an intercourse must anciently have existed between the Indians of this part of North America and the inhabitants of Asia, and between them and those of the Atlantic." The idea of an intercourse (a commercial intercourse is meant) having anciently existed between the Indians of North America and the inhabitants of Asia, is scarcely deserving of the favourable notice it has received from the intelligent Reviewer. But if the continent of America was originally settled in the way I have supposed, it is not improbable that a shell which had been originally brought from the Asiatic islands, and preserved as a cherished ornament in the family of some powerful chief during their successive voyages from island to island till they reached the distant American land, should have been preserved in the subsequent migrations of still later generations of the same family, till it found its way across the Isthmus of Darien, and been afterwards carried

up the Mississippi, and at last buried in the tomb of some warlike chief, perhaps the last of his tribe, on the banks of the Ohio. If there had been many such shells found in the tumulus in question, or in any other locality in America, th idea of an intercourse with the Asiatics might have been entertained with some shadow of reason; but a solitary specimen can only be supposed to have been conveyed to so vast a distance and across so vast an ocean in the way I have supposed. Such a supposition, however, is by no means necessary. The genus *cassis* abounds in the islands to the eastward of Otaheite,* and the specimen found in the tumulus at Cincinnati may therefore have reached the continent of America by a much shorter navigation.

13. The picture-writing of the ancient Mexicans had also a decidedly Polynesian, Malayan, or Chinese aspect. Although the Malayan nations inhabiting the islands of the Indian Archipelago

* I am not sure whether the species *cornutus* is found in that locality; but I once brought a peculiarly fine specimen of the cassis family to England, which had been found in the locality specified.

were possessed of a written language, with an alphabetic character, long anterior to the rise and prevalence of the Portuguese empire in the east, that incontestable evidence of superior civilization must doubtless be regarded as one of those improvements that were derived, according to Sir Stamford Raffles, at an early period in the history of the nation, through the medium of the Sanscrit language, from the more civilized Indian nations to the westward of the Ganges. There is reason to believe, however, that long anterior to the introduction of alphabetic writing, the Malays, in common with the other branches of their widely-extended nation, were not unacquainted with a more imperfect method of communicating their ideas, and of transmitting a record of passing events to posterity. The present written language of China is merely an improved edition of the primitive hieroglyphical writing of ancient Egypt—a sort of half-way station in the progress of the human mind towards an alphabet; and there is reason to believe, that at the period when the Polynesian nation began to people the multitude of the isles,

that more ancient and imperfect species of communication was in general use among the Chinese, the Indo-Chinese, and the Malayan divisions of the Mongolian race.

"In the course of our tour around Hawaii," says the Rev. Mr. Ellis, in an Appendix to his valuable work entitled Polynesian Researches, "we met with a few specimens of what may perhaps be termed the first efforts of an uncivilized people towards the construction of a language of symbols. Along the southern coast, both on the east and west sides, we frequently saw a number of straight lines, semicircles, or concentric rings, with some rude imitations of the human figure, cut or carved in the compact rocks of lava. They did not appear to have been cut with an iron instrument, but with a stone hatchet, or a stone less frangible than the rock on which they were pourtrayed. On inquiry, we found that they had been made by former travellers, from a motive similar to that which induces a person to carve his initials on a stone or tree, or a traveller to record his name in an album,—to inform his successors

that he has been there. When there were a number of concentric circles with a dot or mark in the centre, the dot signified a man, and the number of rings denoted the number in the party who had circumambulated the island. When there was a ring, and a number of marks, it denoted the same; the number of marks showing of how many the party consisted; and the ring, that they had travelled completely round the island: but when there was only a semicircle, it denoted that they had returned after reaching the place where it was made. In some of the islands we have seen the outline of a fish pourtrayed in the same manner, to denote that one of that species or size had been taken near the spot: sometimes the dimensions of an exceedingly large fruit, &c. are marked in the same way." *

I am inclined to differ from Mr. Ellis when he regards these rude specimens of picture-writing as *the first efforts of an uncivilized people towards the construction of a language of symbols.* I am inclined to regard them, in common with those

* "Polynesian Researches," vol. iv. page 459.

colossal remains of the architecture of the ancient Polynesians, which their degenerate offspring of the present day can only behold with amazement, rather as the scanty but interesting relics of an ancient and primitive civilization, of which both the memory and the evidences have almost passed away. In short, it appears to me incontestable that the practice of picture-writing was in general use among the earliest inhabitants of the South Sea Islands; but that in the course of exterminating wars, or rather in consequence of that rust which gathers over the human mind when it is cooped up within a narrow sphere, and thereby loses the edge and the polish which it acquires by being frequently rubbed upon the whetstone of society, this and various other Asiatic arts were gradually lost.

It is natural however to suppose, that the impression which had once been made upon the Polynesian mind, but which had thus been well nigh effaced, from the causes I have enumerated, in the South Sea Islands, would again be revived and deepened on the plains of Quito and around the

lake of Mexico; just as a writing in sympathetic ink becomes darker and more distinct when held close to the fire. Hence it is, doubtless, that the art of picture-writing had arrived at a considerable degree of perfection in the Indian empire of Mexico.

The Indian nations of North America had carried this as well as the other arts, and the general civilization of its central regions, as high as the lakes of Canada. When that province was colonized by the French, the most powerful Indian nation in North America were the Iroquois—a nation whom it afterwards required many a fierce battle to exterminate. That warlike nation was sufficiently civilized at the period I refer to, to practise the Mexican art of picture-writing; for an Indian village, situated somewhere near the site of the present city of Montreal, having about that period been surprised and destroyed by the French, a painting or picture-writing, which afterwards fell into the hands of the French, containing a hieroglyphical representation of the event, was executed by some Indian artist, to transmit an

account of it either to the distant tribes of the nation or to posterity. The village was indicated by a series of wigwams, and the state in which its inhabitants were surprised, by an Indian asleep. The rising sun indicated that the attack had taken place at the break of day; and the moon in her first quarter mounted on the back of a stag, afforded the additional information that it had taken place in the early part of that month in the Indian year of which the stag was the emblem.*

In a letter to the Secretary of the Antiquarian Society, published in the sixth volume of the Archæologia, W. Bray, Esq., gives an account of an Indian picture-writing which had been intended to commemorate the exploits of Winge-

* I recollect listening with a feeling of intense interest to an account of this picture-writing which was given in the course of a Lecture on Natural and Artificial Signs, delivered in the Logic or First Philosophy Class by the late eminent Professor Jardine of the University of Glasgow, in the year 1813. In recurring to such scenes one cannot help sympathizing with the grateful feelings which the poet Vida expresses to his deceased parents, for having sent him from his native city when very young to a college at Rome :—

Me puerum docilem doctam misistis ad urbem.

I should be sorry, however, to pretend to appropriate the epithet which the poet so justly applies to himself.

nund, an Indian warrior of the Delaware nation, about the middle of last century. It consisted of a series of marks or characters inscribed within a square figure on a sugar maple-tree on the Muskingham river in the state of Delaware. The first line consisted of the figure of a turtle—the emblem of the tribe to which the warrior belonged—an arbitrary mark designating the particular chief who had executed the writing, and a representation of the sun. Ten horizontal lines on the right side of the figure denoted the number of expeditions in which the warrior had been engaged, and opposite to each of these lines on the left there was a series of marks resembling the letter X, with a bar across the top of it, representing the number of scalps or of prisoners he had taken ; the sex of the victim being designated by a slight variation of the character, and the central part of the figure being occupied with a rude drawing of three different British forts which he had attacked on these occasions. At the bottom of the figure there were twenty-three vertical lines inclining a little to the left, (the figure of the sun in the first line of the

writing being at the right side of the painting,) to denote that at the time the record was left, the writer was marching on another expedition to the northward.

A similar mode of communication is in use among the Indians of the present day still farther to the northward. "The next day," says the Rev. John West, A. M., late chaplain to the Honourable the Hudson's Bay Company, in his Narrative of a Journey undertaken within the territory of the Red River Colony in the year 1820, "we forded Broad River, on the banks of which we saw several dens, which the bears had scratched for shelter; and seeing the smoke of an Indian tent at some distance before us, in the direction we were going, we quickened our step and reached it before we stopped to breakfast. We found the whole family clothed in deer-skins, and upon a hunting excursion from Church-hill. The Indian, or rather a half-breed, was very communicative, and told me that though he was leading an Indian life, his father was formerly a master at one of the Company's posts, and proposed accompanying our

party to the factory. He had two sons, he said, who were gone in the pursuit of a deer; and, on quitting the encampment to travel with us, he would leave some signs for them to follow us on their return. They were drawn upon a broad piece of wood which he prepared with an axe.—They were, 1st, a tent struck, to intimate that the party had gone forward in a particular direction; —2nd, five rude figures indicating the number of the party, and exhibiting by their dress and accoutrements the rank or condition of each individual, viz., a European chief, a European servant, an Indian attendant, and the two Indians from the encampment;—3rd, a curvilinear figure with the two extremities of the curve pointing towards the hindermost of the figures, to intimate to the Indian's two sons that they were to follow the party."*

14. Notwithstanding the comparatively high degree of civilization, which the ancient Mexicans had attained, previous to the discovery of the

* The substance of a Journal during a residence at the Red River colony; by John West, M. A. London, 1824

American continent by Europeans, their wars were uniformly conducted with the most savage ferocity, and their captives were generally put to death and devoured. Indeed, a degree of ferocity altogether unexampled in the annals of European warfare, either in ancient or in modern times, seems to have distinguished the Indo-American nation in almost all its settlements, and in every period of its history; and the horrible practice of cannibalism appears to have prevailed to an enormous extent among its various tribes. Philosophers of high character have recentlyexpressed their utter astonishment at the prevalence of so revolting a practice in that particular division of the human family; but the hypothesis I have advanced, to account for the first discovery and settlement of America, affords a full and satisfactory explanation of this frightful phenomenon. For, allowing that hypothesis to be well-founded, the first inhabitants of the American continent must, from the very nature of things, have been ferocious cannibals when they landed on its shores: cannibalism must have been the general practice of their fore-

fathers of the Polynesian nation, in the course of those miserable voyages that led to the successive discovery and settlement of the myriads of islands that stud the bosom of the Pacific, and are separated from each other, in many instances, by extensive tracts of ocean; and the horrible practice thus introduced by sheer necessity, and thus divested of its horrors by general usage, may afterwards have been indulged in from custom, if not from choice.* In short I am persuaded that this most anomalous accompaniment of Indo-American civilization is capable of no other explanation.†

* If Necessity has been the mother of invention, it has also been the mother of cannibalism; and it is consequently absurd to seek for any other parentage for the prodigious enormity. I once asked a German Jew on board ship, how he came to eat pork, although I knew at the time that it was served out to him as his ration, and that he had no choice. The man shrugged his shoulders, and replied very properly, (our conversation was in German,) "Meinherr, man kann nicht hier besser thun;" *Sir, one cannot do better here.* The Spaniards were shocked at seeing the Peruvians eat raw fish. This practice originated, I conceive, like that of cannibalism, in absolute necessity, and was perpetuated, like many other practices of similar origin, after the necessity had ceased, either from habit or from choice.

† It is worthy of remark, that the curse of cannibalism was denounced against the ancient Jews as the consequence of their

15. The great councils of the Indo-American nations, in which affairs of public interest were

apostacy from the true God. "Ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat." Levit. xxvi. 29. It would seem, however, as if the Polynesian nation had also been subjected to feel the bitterness of this fearful curse. Is it possible, the reader will perhaps inquire, that the South Sea Islanders can have Jewish blood in their veins? They practise circumcision, and various other rites and ceremonies that have certainly somewhat of a Jewish aspect. The institution of taboo, comprising ordinances relative to consecrated persons, consecrated places, and consecrated things, is apparently of this character. They dedicate the first-fruits of their increase to their god, agreeably to the practice enforced in the Levitical law in regard to the worship of Jehovah; even the first-fruits of a battle, or the dead body of an enemy slain in the commencement of a fight, being immediately borne off in triumph to the morai of the god. If a Friendly Islander touch the dead body of a chief, he is taboo, or *unclean*. They consider the liver to be the seat of courage; it was considered as the seat of the affections by the Hebrews. The singular custom of speaking of the High Priest in a sacred language, or of not using the name of a chief of high rank in common conversation, if it should also be the name for any thing else, is somewhat akin to the Jewish practice of substituting the word *Adoni*, or Lord, in reading, for the word *Jehovah*, wherever the latter occurs in the Hebrew Scriptures. Nay, there is a solemn dirge in an ancient language, no longer intelligible to the natives, sung at the funerals of chiefs in the Friendly Islands, in the chorus of which that very word seems to occur—O Iaooe! I would not insist, however, on such resemblances; for I confess there is nothing in the general form and structure of the Polynesian language that seems to indicate a "*holy alliance*," although particular words in that language do certainly coincide in sound with Hebrew words of the same signification; as, for instance, the word *maté*, signifying *to die, death*. I am inclined to believe that the language, the institutions, and the manners and customs of

publicly discussed, were conducted in the same manner as those of the Polynesian nation. Youth was not suffered to mingle in the high debate. Regular harangues were delivered; most of which were highly animated, and some highly eloquent. And when any speaker had possession of the assembly, he was listened to with profound attention. All such attempts to put down an obnoxious orator, as *coughing*, cries of *hear! oh! question!* &c. would have absolutely shocked the right feelings of the Polynesian and the Indo-American, cannibals though they were.

From the preceding notices it will doubtless appear that the Indians of North America are derived from the same prolific source as the aborigines of the Southern continent; and the

the Polynesians, are of a still higher antiquity than the thunders and the lightnings of Sinai, and that the coincidences I have just referred to are to be traced to the prevalence of that ancient patriarchal religion, that obtained at one time universally long anterior to the giving of the law. I shall state my reasons for entertaining this idea in the sequel. At all events the chain of evidence that is required to establish the identity, or even the near relationship of two different tribes or nations, must be much stronger in its texture, much more complete in its links, than these coincidences imply.

entire dissimilarity of the whole framework of their singularly formed society, to any thing of European origin, sufficiently demonstrates the absurdity of those hypotheses that would trace the aborigines of either continent to ancient colonies from Norway or from Wales. Columbus was undoubtedly the first European that ever crossed the Atlantic or trod American ground; and that great man was not disappointed, as we commonly suppose him to have been, in the attainment of his original object—the discovery of a shorter route to the East Indies. It was the Indians of Cathay that he actually found in the island of Hispaniola. He had there reached the easternmost of the settlements of that great nation, whose innumerable tribes had for thousands of years been the sole occupants of half the surface of the globe.

II. I proposed, in the second place, to institute a comparison between the Polynesians and the uncivilised aborigines of America, in regard to their manners and customs. Of these, however, I shall only instance a few.

The religious Spaniards, who worshipped the

god Mammon, with a devotion that scorned alike the maxims of justice and the voice of humanity, were greatly shocked, on their arrival in America, to find that certain of the Indian nations worshipped the Devil, on the ground that he was both disposed, and had it greatly in his power, to do them harm. The existence of one or more good spirits was acknowledged by the Indians, but they did not esteem it necessary to propitiate their favour, as they were already beneficent. But the malice and the wrath of evil spirits, who were supposed to be the authors of all the numerous ills that flesh is heir to, had to be deprecated by human sacrifices, and bought off by blood. In particular, all persons afflicted with diseases are still supposed, by the Indians of the Brazils and of British Guiana, to be possessed with an evil spirit, with whom the American *Pajé* and the New Zealand *Ariki* (for the idea is common to both localities) are able to maintain a dialogue by muttering indistinctly, and applying their ears for an answer to the sick man's breast; the usual object of the dialogue being to ascertain who has bewitched the

patient. In short, the same ancient and oriental idea of an evil principle is alike common to the South Sea Islanders and to the aborigines of America; for if the New Zealander experiences any calamity, it is immediately ascribed to the *Atua;* and if he is afflicted with internal pains or disease, he will point to the region of the stomach, and with a piteous expression of countenance say, *Atua kai kai!* "The Atua, or god, is devouring me!"

In disposing of their dead, the New Zealanders, and certain of the Indo-American nations, pursue the same singular practice; the dead body being placed in a sort of open coffin or shell, suspended at the height of five or six feet from the ground, on two forked pieces of wood stuck into the earth in some conspicuous situation, a hut being afterwards erected over the body, which is left to putrefy in the open air.* When the flesh has been

* "On the following morning, I saw an Indian corpse staged, or put upon a few cross sticks, about ten feet from the ground, at a short distance from the fort. The property of the dead, which may consist of a kettle, axe, and a few additional articles, is generally put into the case, or wrapped in the buffalo-skin with the body, under the idea that the deceased will want them, or that the spirit of these articles will accompany the departed spirit in tra-

completely consumed by the process of putrefaction, the relatives of the deceased assemble and clean the remaining bones, which they afterwards convey to the general cemetery of the tribe, when a scene of sorrow and lamentation is thus periodically enacted. In some parts of central America, the *Feast of Souls*, as it is styled, takes place once in seven years; the corpses of all persons belonging to the tribe, that have died during the interval, being brought to the general rendezvous to be interred in the common cemetery, some of course being mere skeletons, and others in all stages of putrefaction. These practices relative to the dead appear to have been derived from the same source as those of the ancient Egyptians. Nay, we learn from the Jesuits of the Propaganda mission, that it was anciently the practice, even in China, for persons of a respectable station in society, to keep the dead bodies of their near relations aboveground for years after their death.

velling to another world."—Journal of a Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America; by John West, A.M.

In some of the Indian nations it was incumbent on the tribe to eat the dead body of their chief. Even this horrible species of cannibalism, which was practised under the idea of inhaling the spirit of the chief along with his bodily substance, is still practised in New Zealand; for when a chief dies, all the members of the tribe assemble, and when the dead body is in too advanced a state of putrefaction, even for a New Zealand stomach to relish it, each person thrusts a stick into the mass of corruption, and then into the fire, and afterwards gnaws the stick.

The Indo-Americans and the South Sea Islanders have uniformly entertained the same ideas in regard to the necessity of revenging injuries and of receiving what the latter call *utu*, or *satisfaction*. In short, revenge is considered the holiest passion and the most sacred duty in both nations, and, in both, the forgiving of injuries is utterly unknown. No time can blot out the remembrance of an injury which has once been sustained; no distance can secure the unfortunate victim of this passion of hell. It is remarkable, however, that in the

pursuit of vengeance, stratagems and wiles have uniformly been preferred by both nations to open force and generous valour. The Indian springs from his covert on his hapless victim with his vengeful tomahawk; the New Zealander cleaves his skull asunder in some unsuspecting moment with his deadly *marree*. The former scalps his victim and makes a drinking cup of his skull; the latter bakes his head in an oven, and preserves it as a trophy to future generations.

I have already remarked that in the island of New Zealand, females employed in nursing are *taboo*, and are forbidden under pain of death to touch any article of the food they eat with their own hands. A similar practice prevails among the aborigines of America. "They have customs," says the Rev. Mr. West, in his Journal of a Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America, "such as separation for forty days at the birth of a child, setting apart the female in a separate lodge at peculiar seasons, and *forbidding her to touch any articles in common use*, which bear a strong resemblance to the laws of uncleanness and sepa-

ration commanded to be observed towards the Jewish females." *

The South Sea Islanders prepare an intoxicating beverage from the root of a sort of wild pepper, called *cava*.† When a cava feast is fixed on in the South Sea Islands, the chiefs and other natives of higher cast assemble, and are ranged in a circular form around an immense bowl in which the cava is to be prepared in the centre. Portions of the root are then handed to young persons who wait for the purpose in an exterior ring, and who, after chewing the root for some time, return the residuum to the master of the ceremonies, who deposits it in the bowl. Water is then poured over the precious deposit, and the cava is forthwith handed round with the utmost etiquette to the expectant guests. The Indo-Brazilians and the aborigines of Guiana prepare an intoxicating beverage called *piwarry*, in a somewhat similar way, from the American plant *cassava*,† which is masticated for the purpose by the women; the

* "West's Journal," page 54.

† *Cava* (Polynesian), *Cassava* (Indo-American). This coincidence is somewhat more than merely remarkable.

saliva, and not the residuum, as in the other case, being poured into a canoe, and the liquor being left to ferment.*

"Besides the common methods of taking fish," observes Mr. Marsden, "of which the seas that wash the coasts of Sumatra afford an extraordinary variety and abundance, the natives employ a mode unpractised, I apprehend, in any part of Europe. They steep the root of a certain climbing plant called *tuba*, of strong narcotic qualities, in the water where the fish are observed, which produces such an effect, that they become intoxicated and to appearance dead, float on the water, and are taken with the hand. In Captain Cook's second voyage is a plate representing a plant used for the same purpose at Otaheite."† We are informed by W. Hillhouse, Esq., in a paper published by that gentleman in the second volume of the Journal of the Geographical So-

* "The lower Spaniards of Lima prepare a drink called *chichi*, in imitation of the Indians, from a native plant which the Indians chew for the purpose, as the South Sea Islanders do the root used for kava."—Stewart's Voyage to the Sandwich Islands.

† "Marsden's History of Sumatra," page 186.

ciety, that "the Indians of Guiana also catch fish by throwing an intoxicating herb into the water."

"The cast of blood," we are told moreover by the same competent authority, "is derived in Guiana from the mother." I have already noticed the prevalence of a similar idea in the Friendly Islands, where the children of a chief by a woman of inferior cast are generally not allowed to live, lest they should bring disgrace upon the family. In these islands the rank of the mother, and not that of the father, uniformly determines the rank of the child.

"On any scarcity of provisions or prevalence of sickness," continues Mr. Hillhouse, "all the branches of the family flock to the dwelling of the chief, and live at his expense, without the least doubt of a welcome. It therefore frequently happens that the chief is fairly eaten out of house and home, and his cassava field completely exhausted. In this predicament, he unties his hammock, puts his family into his canoe, and starts off to pay his round of visits among his friends, at whose expense he lives, till his next crop of pro-

visions coming in, enables him to return to his home.

"The Indian cultivates, during three or four months, as much provisions as are necessary for the consumption of his family during the year. The rest of his time is spent in hunting, fishing, visiting, drinking, and dancing. His life is therefore a life of pleasure, and it is with great unwillingness that he undertakes a superfluous degree of labour, by which he relinquishes a present enjoyment for the prospect of future provision, about which he has no care.

"The Indians manufacture bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, canoes, coorials, and apparatus for fishing, with considerable ingenuity; but at a certain pitch their art is stationary, and there does not appear to have been any improvement or new idea struck out in any of these branches from time immemorial."*

The character and habits of the Polynesians co-

* "Notices of the Indians inhabiting the Interior of British Guiana; by W. Hillhouse, Esq."—a paper contained in the second volume of the Journal of the Geographical Society.

incide so remarkably, in all the particulars enumerated by the intelligent traveller from whose paper I have made the preceding extract, with those of the Indians of Guiana, that the whole passage might have formed a part of a voyage to the South Sea Islands.

Nay, the Malay cast of countenance has been detected by intelligent observers among the Indians of America. In reference to those of Acapulco in the Republic of Mexico, Captain Basil Hall thus writes: "Their features and colour partake somewhat of the Malay character; their foreheads are broad and square; their eyes small, and not deep-seated: their cheek-bones prominent, and their heads covered with black straight hair; their stature about the medium standard; their frame compact and well-made."*

It may be worth while to inform certain philosophers, both British and continental, who are anxious, it would seem, to multiply the races of mankind, how these broad and square foreheads have been manufactured in the course of ages;

* "Capt. Basil Hall's Voyage to South America," vol. ii. p. 175.

and how much the infidelity of modern science stands indebted, in consequence of so serviceable a manufacture, to the midwives of that nursery of nations, the Indian Archipelago. "The women," says Mr. Marsden, to whom I have been so frequently indebted, "have the preposterous custom of flattening the noses and compressing the heads of children newly born, whilst the skull is yet cartilaginous, which increases their natural tendency to that shape. I could never trace the origin of the practice, or learn any other reason for moulding the features to this uncouth appearance, but that it was an improvement of beauty in their estimation. Captain Cook takes notice of a similar operation at the island of Ulietea."*

III. The third particular to which I proposed to refer, in proof of the identity of the Polynesian and the Indo-American divisions of the family of man, was their language.

There is no subject which has so little engaged the attention of the learned as the languages of the

* "Marsden's History of Sumatra," p. 47.

aborigines of America. Thirteen millions of Englishmen have seized a whole continent, and either shot, or banished, or bought off its ancient inhabitants, without ever thinking it worth their while (except I believe in a few instances of recent occurrence) to ask these children of the forest this simple question, *What you speak?* * The Portuguese have in general been equally remiss in regard to the numerous languages of the aborigines of their Brazilian empire;† and though a grammar of the Indo-Mexican language was published many

* This was the style in which the Chinese phrase, *Ni wah man?* (What do you say?) was done into English for my particular information by my Chinese interpreter Quong, formerly of Canton, but then of Ma-dum-bai—the Chinese corruption of Botany Bay.

† I met a negro waterman at Rio de Janeiro in the year 1823, who, perceiving from my abortive attempts at Portuguese that I was a foreigner, told me, with an air of self-complacency quite amusing, that he could speak Portuguese, French, English, the negro language, and the language of the native Americans. I congratulated the black linguist on his superior scholarship as well as I could; but was quite overpowered when the negro added, with an air of triumph, "Mi falla todas lenguas," *I speak every language.* I had an opportunity, however, of putting his scholarship to the test before leaving his *canova*, and was rather mortified to find that his knowledge of English extended only to the phrase, "Board a ship; go shore." I was therefore led to suspect that he knew as little of the *lengua dos Americanos* as most of the Brazilians.

years ago by the Spaniard Don Jose Augustino Aldama y Guevara;* of which, however, I have not had the good fortune to meet with a copy:—all that we know of the language of the Indians of Chili is limited to a few words given by Erçilla, another Spaniard, in a work entitled "Araucana." Great Britain, however, has maintained her high character in this respect as well as in every other; for although she has not yet had possession of the colony of Demerara eighty years, she has presented the literary world with no fewer than eighty words of the Indian tongue!

This respectable vocabulary was collected by the gentleman to whose labours in the interior of British Guiana I have already referred; and I am confident the reader will acknowledge, from the subjoined specimen, that it exhibits a striking resemblance to the language of Polynesia. Like that language, the language of Guiana is essentially vocalic; i. e. it abounds in vowel sounds;

* Humboldt has given a list of several other Mexican and Peruvian grammars, published chiefly by Spanish ecclesiastics in the seventeenth century.

while every, or almost every, word terminates in a vowel. The same guttural aspirations, indicating the suppression of consonantal sounds, appear to prevail, as in the dialect of Otaheite; the same nasal sound occurs as in that of New Zealand; and in the formation of compound words, or the embodying of complex ideas, the same mental process that characterizes the languages of the Indian Archipelago and of China is strikingly exhibited. In short, a scholar, whose eye and ear had been accustomed to trace the affinities or to detect the radical dissimilarity of different languages, would at once unhesitatingly assert that the following words of the dialect of the Warows of British Guiana were just so many words of the Polynesian tongue:—

Head	Maquah.
Eyes	Maamu.
Mouth	Maroho.
Hair	Maaheo.
Ears	Mahohoko.
Arms	Muhaara.
Skin	Mahoro.*

* I apprehend the commencing syllable in all these words is merely a prefix. The same prefix occurs in the composition of

Blood	Hotuh.*
Water	Ho.
Earth	Hotah.*
Sun	Yah.†
Moon	Waanehah.
Stars	Keorah.
Thunder	Nahaa.
Rain	Naahaa.
Paddle	Haahah.
Tobacco	Aoha.

Examples of compound words.

Grandmother	Naatu.
Grandchild	Naatusenga.
Hands	Yenarry.
Hand-appendages (fingers)	Yenarry eteedeh.
Arrow	Semaara.

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many New Zealand words of exactly similar external appearance; as, for instance,

Mahana	Day.
Marama	The Moon.
Maripi	A sword.
Madino	Smooth.
Maha	Much.
Matapo	Blind.

* I apprehend the first syllable in these words is the Polynesian article *e*, which in the New Zealand dialect is generally aspirated. *Hotuh* resembles the Tahitian word *to-to*, also signifying *blood*; and *hotah* is probably the remains of the Malayan word *tanah*, signifying land or country, with the Polynesian aspirated article.

† The Polynesian word for *the sun* is *ra* or *la*; and it is quite accordant with the genius of that language for the semivowel to be completely liquified, as in the Indo-American word *yah*.

Arrow-discharger (bow)	Semaara haaba
Arrow-discharger-cord (bow-string)	Semaara haaba teemy.

Through the kindness of a friend who has recently returned to England from the colony of Demerara, I am enabled to subjoin the following Indian names of localities on the Demerara river, which also very evidently exhibit a Polynesian aspect: viz. Arigaraboe, Ioerawea, Hiagua, Haboe, Boera-boera-wa, Wara-warau, Maraka, Mamua, Moenetari, Mari-mari, Winipio, Mamikoeroa, Toematamatia, Motoka, Akyma, Kaiwalia, Kamakaiaha, Dalawila.

The Indian names of several of the creeks or tributary streams that empty themselves into the Demerara river, commence with the syllable *wa*, as Waridu, Waratili, Walaba. Wai or Vai is the Polynesian word for *water*.

Akuri, Marudi, Himara, Koekeruni, Tibikuri, are Indian words descriptive of objects of natural history in British Guiana. They exhibit the same Polynesian character and aspect.

Bauia, Kokarelli, Kabakali, Kanunubali, Kara-

huri, Kutabali, Dukali, Dukalibali, Gomaro, Hiabali, Hakia, Itikiburabali, Kurara, Kurakurara, Mora, Simarupa, Siwaro, Turaneara, Tataba, Wamara, Wadaduri, Yerura, Yurabali, are the Indian names of various species of forest-trees in British Guiana, with which I have also been favoured through the kindness of the friend already alluded to.

Many of the names of places in the equatorial regions of America are decidedly Polynesian in their sound and appearance. Of this description are such words as Peru, Quito (Kito), Guatimala (Katimala), Arica, Loa, Titicaca, Panama, Huayna, Chili, Caicara, Atahualpa, Tiahuanacu, Arequipa (Arekipa), Guarohiri (Karohiri), Huanuco, Lima, Tarapaca, Guanaxato (Kanahato).

One of the two numerals that Baron Humboldt gives in a list of words of the Chayma and Tamanack languages of central America, is *oroa* or *orua*, two. In all probability it is merely the Polynesian *dua* or *rua* with the Tahitian prefix or article.

The Mexican reverential affix, *tzin* or *azin*, which was always added to the names of princes,

is in all likelihood the Rukheng or Indo-Chinese affix, *asyang*, signifying *lord*, if not the Chinese word *tsin*. In the list of Mexican kings who reigned previous to the era of the Spanish conquest, we find the names of Nopal-tzin, Ho-tzin, Quina-tzin (Kina-tzin), Cacama-tzin, Cuicuitzcatzin, Coanaco-tzin, Montezuma-tzin, Guatimo-tzin (Ka-Tima-tzin). Several of these proper names have a remarkable resemblance to modern Polynesian names; the last, especially,—the name of the unfortunate prince whom the Spaniards extended over a fire of coals to compel him to inform them where he had hidden his treasures,—is, when stripped of its Spanish doublet and its reverential affix, a pure New Zealand name.

I have already adduced the authority of De Zuniga as a witness to the close resemblance that subsists between the languages of Chili in South America, and of Tagala, a province or district in the Philippine Islands. "In examining the structure of these two languages," observes that writer, "we are compelled to conclude that they flow from one and the same source." The words which De Zuniga quotes from the Chilian dialect, viz.,

"ytayta, biobio, lemolemo, colocolo," are decidedly Polynesian in their aspect, whatever may be their signification. Let the reader compare them with such Polynesian words as "udiudi, korakora, nohinohi, rekereke," and he will doubtless feel it difficult to avoid the conclusion that these languages are derived from the same source, and were originally the same primitive tongue.

With such a variety of presumptive evidences of a general and intimate affinity between the Polynesian and the Indo-American languages, we can only regard the following assertions of Mr. Marsden, in regard to the language of the South Sea Islands, as entirely gratuitous and contrary to the fact. "To the languages that prevail on the western coast of South America, from whence Easter Island (the 'ultima Thule' of Polynesia) is not greatly remote, the slightest affinity does not appear." * And again, "Having now attained to that extremity of Polynesia which lies the nearest to the western coast of

* "Miscell. Works," page 5.

South America, it becomes a natural subject of curiosity to ascertain whether any similarity exists between our great insular language, and those which prevail on the opposite continent. For this purpose specimens are introduced of the Araucanian of Chili, and Kichuan of Peru; upon the slightest comparison of which it will be seen, that neither of these (*which are totally different from each other*) have even the most remote affinity to the Polynesian; and the same may be asserted with respect to the languages spoken on the more northern parts of that extensive region, which I have examined for this object, as far as Nootka Sound and Oonalaska."* And again, "In the *Historia de las Islas Philipinas, por Martinez de Zuniga,* it is stated that upon examining the words of the language of Chili, which Erçilla mentions in his "Araucana," he finds them *bastante conformes* to the Tagala language. It is surprising, that, for the sake of supporting a favourite hypothesis, a respectable writer should venture to assert what is directly contrary to the

* "Miscell. Works," page 61.

fact."* De Zuniga's assertion is by no means "contrary to the fact;" and it is only *surprising* that Mr. Marsden should have represented it in that light. The Spaniard does not say that the Araucanian words are the same in sound and in signification as Tagalic words: he merely asserts, that the former are *bastante conformes*, "strikingly conformable in their character and structure to the latter"—an assertion which is somewhat different, and which Mr. Marsden himself will scarcely call in question.

There are other means of ascertaining the affinities of languages besides identity of sound and signification in the corresponding vocables of each. "Languages," says Baron Humboldt, "are much more strongly characterized by their structure and grammatical forms, than by the analogy of their sounds and of their roots; and this analogy of sounds is sometimes so disfigured in the different dialects of the same tongue, as not to be distinguishable; for the tribes into which a nation is divided, often designate the same objects by words altogether heterogeneous. Hence

* "Miscell. Works," page 61.

it follows, that we are easily mistaken, if, neglecting the study of the inflexions, and consulting only the roots,—for instance, the words which designate the moon, sky, water, and earth,—we decide on the absolute difference of two idioms from the simple want of resemblance in sounds."*

In short, from the peculiar character of their ancient civilization, from the manners and customs of their uncivilized tribes, and from the general structure and analogies of their language, I conceive we are warranted to conclude that the Indo-Americans are the same people as the South Sea Islanders, the Malays of the Indian Archipelago, and the Indo-Chinese nations of Eastern Asia; and that the continent of America was originally peopled from the scattered islands of the Pacific.

That there are great diversities of language among the aborigines of America is a fact that cannot be denied; but that there is also a common principle of mechanism exhibited in the structure of all the aboriginal languages of that great continent, which entitles us to refer them all to one common origin, is equally undeniable.

* "Humboldt's Personal Narrative," vol. iii. p. 252.

"In America," says Baron Humboldt,—"and this result of the more modern researches is extremely important with respect to the history of our species,—from the country of the Esquimaux to the banks of the Oroonoko, and again from these torrid banks to the frozen climate of the Straits of Magellan, mother-tongues, entirely different with regard to their roots, have, if we may use the expression, the same physiognomy. Striking analogies of grammatical construction are acknowledged, not only in the more perfect languages, as that of the Incas, the Aymara, the Guarani, the Mexican, and the Cora, but also in languages extremely rude. Idioms, the roots of which do not resemble each other more than the roots of the Sclavonian and the Biscayan, have those resemblances of internal mechanism which are found in the Sanscrit, the Persian, the Greek, and the German languages. It is on account of this general analogy of structure—it is because American languages, which have no word in common, (the Mexican, for instance, and the Quichua,) resemble each other by their organization, and

form complete contrasts with the languages of Latin Europe, that the Indians of the missions familiarize themselves more easily with an American idiom, than with that of the metropolis. In the forests of the Oroonoko, I have heard the rudest Indians speak two or three tongues. Savages of different nations often communicate their ideas to each other by an idiom which is not their own." *

To carry out this idea to its legitimate extent, it appears to me that all the languages that are spoken by the various tribes of mankind, in all parts of the world, may be classed under the three following divisions: viz.

I. The Eastern or Mongolian language, comprehending—

1. The dialects of Eastern Tartary.
2. The Chinese.
3. The Indo-Chinese.
4. The Malayan.
5. The Indo-American languages.

To this list may probably be added the Coptic,

* "Personal Narrative," vol. iii. p. 247.

or ancient Egyptian,* and the Magyar, or Hungarian, languages.

However endlessly diversified the general result may be in these different cases, from the peculiar

* If I am not greatly mistaken, the cranium of an Egyptian mummy, which had been examined anatomically for the purpose, has been ascertained to have belonged to an individual of what Professor Blumenbach designates the Caucasian race of men. The Coptic language, however, appears to have been of a monosyllabic character, and may therefore be presumed to have been of a Mongolian origin; on the other hand, the civilization of the South Sea Islanders and the Indo-Americans, as will appear sufficiently in the sequel, seems in some remarkable particulars to have been of an Egyptian cast. In these circumstances, to decide from the Caucasian skull of the Egyptian mummy that the ancient Egyptians were not of a similar origin with the nations that speak the Eastern or Mongolian language, would be a mere begging of the question. It would be taking for granted the very thing to be proved, viz. that the difference of conformation observable in these divisions of the human race is not the result of climate, of isolation, and of the various circumstances that exert a powerful influence on the conformation of the human frame. It is surely preferable in all such cases to exhibit the modesty of Humboldt, than the dogmatism and effrontery of certain infidel philosophers of vastly inferior mental capacity. "We will not decide," says that distinguished observer of the phenomena of nature, after observing that "the Esquimaux of Greenland and the Laplanders are tanned by the influence of the air, while their children are born white. We will not decide on the changes which nature may produce in a space of time exceeding all historical traditions. Reason stops short in these matters, when no longer under the guidance of experience and analogy."—Personal Narrative, vol. iii. p. 295.

operation of the principle of aggregation in each individual instance, and from those special tendencies to modification or change in a particular direction, to which language is universally subject,—partly from the influence of climate on the organs of speech, and partly from a variety of other causes which it is unnecessary to enumerate,—it would seem that this class of languages is radically and originally monosyllabic and inflexile in its character, and that it has fewer consonantal, and a much greater variety of vowel, sounds than the languages of the west.

This class of languages, moreover, has been spoken by a much larger portion of the human race, and over a much greater extent of the earth's surface, than all other languages together. The adventurous Malays have not only spread it over the whole extent of the vast Pacific Ocean, but carried it even to the western shores of the Atlantic, to Labrador and Cape Horn; while Attila and his Huns, marching westward with their mighty horde from the wall of China and the steppes of Tartary, have planted it in the fertile provinces

of the ancient Roman empire, and almost enabled it to complete the circuit of the globe.

The nations by whom this class of languages has been spoken, appear to have made an early, and by no means inconsiderable, progress in the arts of civilization, but to have been suddenly arrested, as it were, in the march of improvement; insomuch that, like those fabled cities of which the inhabitants have been suddenly metamorphosed into marble statues by some mighty enchanter, the people are still observed in precisely the same attitudes as they exhibited, and pursuing precisely the same employments that exercised their energies or their ingenuity, when the mysterious wand was waved over them three thousand years ago. From accidental circumstances, cannibalism has prevailed among this class of nations to a much greater extent than among any other tribes of men; but, independently of the circumstances I allude to, and beyond the sphere of their operation, they have often exhibited a systematic ferocity in their exterminating wars and extensive conquests, scarcely paralleled in the history of the nations of the west.

II. The Western, or Caucasian, language, comprehending—

1. The Sanscrit—the mother-tongue of India within the Ganges.
2. The Persian.
3. The Celtic.
4. The Teutonic.
5. The Pelasgic, or Latin and Greek languages.

The late Professor Murray, of the University of Edinburgh, has endeavoured (I will not say successfully) to demonstrate that this class of languages is also monosyllabic in its original character, and has even detected what he conceives to be the primitive elements, or, to use the phraseology of chemistry, the atoms of which it has been so variously compounded. But whereas the monosyllabic atoms in the former class of languages separate of their own accord, like the particles that compose a large drop of quicksilver, those of the latter class adhere so closely together that no mere mechanical process can effect a separation.

In contradistinction, therefore, to the languages

of Mongolian origin, this class of languages may be considered as essentially polysyllabic and flexile, while its consonantal character insures it a degree of permanence and stability, unknown to the liquid elements and the evanescent forms of a vocalic tongue. Hence it is, doubtless, that a much greater variety of dialects has originated (both in Asia and in America) from the Mongolian, or Eastern, than from the Caucasian, or Western, class of languages.

It is unnecessary to characterize the nations by whom this latter class of languages has been spoken, or to contrast their mental energy, and their progressive advancement in knowledge and in arts, with the dull and stationary character of the Eastern, or Mongolian, nations. It appears to me, however, that this wonderful and apparently unaccountable diversity of mental character has arisen less from any radical difference in the mental capacity of these great divisions of mankind, than from the different circumstances in which they have been respectively placed. For whereas the tribes that speak the Eastern or

Mongolian language—the Tartars, the Chinese, the Indo-Chinese, the Malays, the Polynesians, and the Indo-Americans,—have all been in a greater or lesser degree isolated from the rest of the world, like a Dutch family living from generation to generation in the seclusion of an American forest; the nations of the west have in all past ages been jumbled together in the great political dice-boxes of Europe and Western Asia, each perpetually changing its relative position to the rest, and entering from absolute necessity into new combinations. Now just as quartz pebbles lose their angles and acquire a sort of polish by being subjected to the rushing of waters in the bed of a rapid river, while they would doubtless have retained their original conformation, and their less pleasing exterior, if they had been lying all the while at the bottom of a lake; and as malt liquor, when it has become stale, revives and becomes brisk again when emptied from vessel to vessel; it appears to me that the changes of circumstances that have been experienced in all past ages by the western nations, have been

highly favourable to the general progress of civilization in the west, and to the general developement of the mental energies of man.

I am inclined to regard what are generally called the Semitic languages, i. e. the Hebrew, the Chaldee, the Syriac, the Armenian, and perhaps the Arabic, as the result of an early admixture of the Eastern and Western tongues; for this class of languages seems to exhibit, in a considerable degree, the more prominent features of both of these great divisions of language, and to form, as it were, a connecting link between them. The same observation may perhaps apply to the Sclavonic language—the mother-tongue of the dialects of Russia, Poland, &c.

III. The Southern, or Ethiopic, language, comprehending—

1. The dialects of the African, or South Western, negroes.
2. The dialects of the Papuan, or South Eastern, negroes.

I have purposely refrained from saying any thing, in the course of the preceding pages, of

the latter of these numerous tribes of men, although it is well known that they not only constitute the aborigines of New Holland, Van Dieman's Land, and New Guinea, but are found in considerable numbers, mixed occasionally with the lighter-coloured Polynesians, in several of the groups of islands to the westward, as in New Caledonia, the Mallicolo Islands, the New Hebrides, &c.; as well as in several of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, as in Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, &c.; in the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal; and even in the interior of continental India, as at Mongheir. I have preserved this silence, partly from unwillingness to involve in additional perplexity a subject already sufficiently extensive, by the introduction of a new and foreign element, but more especially from the limited nature of our acquaintance with the languages, and from our entire ignorance of the origin, of the Papuan race. I am not without hopes, however, that the literary apparatus that has recently been set up and put in active operation on the eastern shores of New Holland, will

in due time serve to clear away a portion at least of the "clouds and darkness" that still "rest upon" this mysterious chapter of the history of man.

I have already observed that the Spaniard De Zuniga, judging from the conformity of the Indo-American and Polynesian languages, and from the alleged uniform prevalence of easterly winds in the Pacific Ocean, is of opinion that the Polynesians are sprung from the Indo-Americans. It is unnecessary to repeat what I have already stated, in regard to the prevalence of westerly winds in certain regions of the Pacific Ocean; and I shall have an opportunity of showing hereafter, that the conformity of the languages of the South Sea Islanders and of the aborigines of America is more easily explicable, on the supposition that the latter of these classes of language is the offspring, than on the supposition of its being the parent, of the former. If it should still be asked, however, Why not adopt Zuniga's hypothesis, rather than the one I have advanced, in supposing that the continent of America was originally peo-

pled from the South Sea Islands, across the broadest part of the Pacific Ocean? I answer:—

1. Because the Spaniard's hypothesis leaves the fact, as to how the Indo-Americans first arrived on the shores of their native continent, entirely unexplained, and thereby creates two difficulties instead of one; for if it is alleged that they passed from the continent of Asia across Behring's Straits, I reply that there is no trace whatever, as far as I have yet been able to ascertain, either of the past or of the present existence of any people at all resembling the Polynesians and the Indo-Americans, from the frontiers of China to Behring's Straits. Of that singular people, whose innumerable tribes we behold inhabiting the ten thousand isles of the vast Pacific, from the Straits of Malacca to the Isthmus of Darien, and traversing for ages, as its sole and undisputed occupants, the length and breadth of a vast continent from Lake Superior to Cape Horn, we should naturally have expected to find some traces along the north-eastern coasts of Asia: for if De Zuniga's hypothesis is well

founded, they must doubtless have traversed these inhospitable regions on their passage to that far-distant and uninhabited land, from whence their offspring were destined, in some future age, to take a fresh departure to people the multitude of the isles.

2. Because the Spaniard's hypothesis affords no explanation either of the past or of the present condition of the Indo-American nation—a nation whose ancient civilization has been evidently cast in a different type from that of any existing European or Asiatic nation, and whose numerous wandering tribes of uncivilized barbarians still exhibit the evidences of an ancient and noble lineage, notwithstanding their present almost hopeless degradation.

Supposing, for instance, that America had been originally peopled by way of the Aleoutski Islands at the entrance of Behring's Straits, how shall we account for the prevalence of cannibalism in that continent to a degree unheard of in any other part of the habitable globe ?* Dr. Von Mar-

* The Rev. Mr. West, chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company,

tius, a learned Bavarian philosopher, who has lately published his Travels in the Brazils, in conjunction with his fellow-traveller Dr. Spix, informs us, that the aborigines of that portion of the American continent are generally cannibals; and one of the

exhibits evidence on this subject rather in opposition to his own statements than in confirmation of them. "It does not appear," says Mr. W., "that cannibalism is practised by any of the North American Indians; on the contrary, the eating of human flesh is held in great abhorrence by them; and when they are driven to eat it through dire necessity, they are generally shunned by other Indians who know it, and who often take their lives secretly. *It is not an uncommon practice, however, for them to cut flesh from their captives, and, when cooked, to eat small bits of it, as well as to give some to their children, with a little of their blood; no doubt under the idea that it will give them courage, and a spirit of hatred and revenge against their enemies.*" — West's Journal of a Residence at the Red River Colony, p. 90. The Indians are not cannibals in Mr. West's opinion, because, forsooth, they do not exactly make a hearty meal off the living man, but merely eat a small bit of him! They do not absolutely get drunk upon his blood; they merely take a dram of it! On another occasion, Mr. W. relates an occurrence that throws some light on the origin of cannibalism. "An Indian with his wife on their arrival gave me to understand that they had been without food for twenty days, and had lost their three children by starvation. Their appearance was that of a melancholy dejection, and I had my suspicions excited at the time that they had eaten them. This was confirmed afterwards by the bones and hands of one of the children being found near some ashes at a place where they said they had encamped and suffered their misery. It appears that two of their children died from want, whom they cooked and eat, and that they afterwards killed the other for a subsistence in their dire necessity."—Ibid. p. 128.

latest travellers in British Guiana prefers the same frightful charge against the Indians of that section of the continent. A similar accusation, however, has never been preferred against any other great division of the human race. Gibbon speaks of a tribe of ancient Caledonians, called the Attacotti, whose head-quarters in the fourth century were in the neighbourhood of the site of the modern city of Glasgow, and who were generally accused by their contemporaries of a liking for human flesh, or, as Gibbon terms it, of preferring the shepherd to his flock. But there is nothing more common than for one tribe of barbarians to accuse another, with which perhaps they are in a state of hostility, of cannibalism,—in order, if possible, to consign the hostile tribe to general execration. Even the black native of New South Wales, when questioned about the character and habits of any tribe of aborigines with which his own tribe is not on friendly terms, will say, *Bail boodgeree that fellow; that patter black fellow.* "He is a bad fellow that; he eats black fellows." Such accusations, however, prove rather the ge-

neral abhorrence, than the general prevalence, of cannibalism.

Unknown in Europe, the horrible practice has never obtained in Asia, and is unheard of even in Africa. How then could it have been so thoroughly learnt in the short passage across Behring's Straits, as to become naturalized or rather nationalized in America? In short, the phenomenon is altogether unaccountable on such a supposition. On the other hand, the existence and prevalence of cannibalism among the Indo-Americans must have been the natural and the necessary consequence of the discovery and settlement of that continent in the manner I have supposed—cannibalism must in that case have been the national, the characteristic, the original sin of the race; for it was indispensable to the very existence of the first discoverers of America, that they should have learnt on their passage to that continent from the nearest of the South Sea Islands to drink the tepid blood, to devour the quivering sinews, and to gnaw, like a starved hyena, the bones of their fellow-men.

Mr. Ellis, the author of the "Polynesian Re-

searches," is inclined to adopt the hypothesis of De Zuniga in regard to the original settlement of the northern and eastern groups of the South Sea Islands, while in accordance with the commonly received opinion he would trace the inhabitants of the western islands to a Malay origin. "A tabular view of a number of words in the Malayan, Asiatic, or the Madagascar, the American and the Polynesian languages, would probably show, that at some remote period either the inhabitants of these distant parts of the world maintained frequent intercourse with each other, or that colonies from some one of them originally peopled, in part or altogether, the others. The striking analogy between the numerals and other parts of the language, and several of the customs, of the aborigines of Madagascar and those of the Malays who inhabit the Asiatic islands, many thousand miles distant in one direction, and of the Polynesians more remote in another, shows that they were originally one people, or that they had emigrated from the same source. Many words in the language, and several of the traditions, customs,

&c. of the Americans, so strongly resemble those of Asia, as to warrant the inference that they originally came from that part of the world. Whether some of the tribes who originally passed from Asia along the Kurile or Aleutian islands, across Behring's Straits, to America, left part of their number, who were the progenitors of the present race, inhabiting those islands; and that they at some subsequent period, either attempting to follow the tide of emigration to the east, or steering to the south, were by the north-east trade-winds driven to the Sandwich Islands, whence they proceeded to the southern groups: whether those who had traversed the north-west coast of America sailed either from California or Mexico across the Pacific under the favouring influence of the regular easterly winds, peopled Easter Island, and continued under the steady easterly or trade-winds advancing westward till they met the tide of emigration flowing from the larger groups or islands in which the Malays form the majority of the population—it is not now easy to determine. But a variety of facts connected with the past and pre-

sent circumstances of the inhabitants of these countries authorize the conclusion, that either part of the present inhabitants of the South Sea Islands came originally from America, or that tribes of the Polynesians have, at some remote period, found their way to the continent."*

The supposition that any portion of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands has been derived from the continent of America is inadmissible, for the two following reasons :—

1. It implies that the inhabitants of the west coast of America have been a maritime people; which, it is well known, they have never been, and which indeed the very nature of the country they inhabit precludes them from being.

2. It implies that the inhabitants of the west coast of America must not only have been a maritime people, but must have been in the habit of making voyages of discovery and adventure into the Pacific Ocean ;—a supposition utterly preposterous : for although a canoe belonging to Easter Island, driven accidentally off the land by a west-

* "Polynesian Researches," vol. i. p. 122.

erly gale of a few weeks' continuance, would in all likelihood reach the American continent, a thousand canoes might have sailed successively from Mexico and California—nay, even from Chili or Peru—on voyages of discovery into the Pacific Ocean, before one of their number had ever reached that diminutive island. Further, Easter Island, which is situated in latitude 27° S. is beyond the usual limits of the south-east trade-wind,* and consequently within the limits of the westerly gales of the Southern Pacific. Besides, the uniformly prevalent wind along the west coast of South America, within a hundred leagues of the land, is from the south, parallel to the course of the Andes. It is absolutely incredible, therefore, that a canoe sailing from Chili or Peru, much more from Mexico or California, would ever be driven to Easter Island: on the contrary, a canoe driven to the eastward from that island by a westerly

* On all my three voyages from New South Wales to England I have never fallen in with the south-east trade-wind to the southward of the twentieth or twenty-first degree of south latitude, i. e. six or seven degrees to the northward of Easter Island.

gale* would at length come within the influence of the southerly coast wind; in which case the northerly *set* or current would infallibly carry her towards the isthmus of Panama.

Besides, while there are no evidences whatever of such voyages having been undertaken by the Indo-Americans, there are indubitable evidences of their having been undertaken, not merely from accident or from necessity, but from the spirit of adventure, by the South Sea Islanders. "The difficulties in the passage of the first inhabitants from the American continent to the most eastern islands of the Pacific, are not greater than must have attended the passage of the same tribe between the Society and Sandwich Islands; and yet the identity of the inhabitants of these is unequivocal." † True: but while Mr. Ellis is unable to produce the slightest evidence of any such voyage having ever been undertaken from America,

* I once experienced a westerly gale in the South Pacific, which blew for a month or five weeks without intermission, and carried our good ship from New Zealand to Cape Horn. A gale of that kind would in all probability extend to the northward of Easter Island.

† "Polynesian Researches," vol. i. p. 122.

he has himself furnished indubitable evidence of the one of these groups having been peopled from the other. "The nations at present inhabiting the islands of the Pacific," says Mr. Ellis, "have undoubtedly been more extensively spread than they now are. In the most remote and solitary islands occasionally discovered in recent years,—such as Pitcairn's Island, on which the mutineers of the Bounty settled, and on Fanning's Island, near Christmas Island, *midway between the Society and Sandwich Islands*,—although now desolate, relics of former inhabitants have been found. Pavements of floors, foundations of houses, and stone entrances, have been discovered; and stone adzes or hatchets have been found at some distance from the surface, exactly resembling those in use among the people of the North and South Pacific at the time of their discovery. *These facts prove* that the nations now inhabiting these and other islands have been, in former times, more widely extended than they are at present."*

But the interesting facts thus opportunely ad-

* "Polynesian Researches," vol. i. p. 124.

duced by Mr. Ellis prove much more than he has stated: they prove that the inhabitants of these solitary and diminutive islands, after having found them an asylum, perhaps, for generations, still continued to cherish the recollection of their having originally come from some larger and happier isle; and that they were at length induced by that very recollection, probably in a period of famine, such as frequently occurs in these islands, to abandon their new settlement altogether, and to launch out into the boundless ocean in search of their long-lost isle. Persons in these circumstances were much likelier to discover America, than the Mexicans or Californians to hit upon Easter Island. The desolation of such anciently inhabited islands, as Mr. Ellis has enumerated, may doubtless have been the result of epidemic diseases; but the explanation I have given is the more probable of the two.

3. But the supposition of emigrations to the South Sea Islands having taken place from the continent of America, as well as from the Indian Archipelago, is utterly at variance with the phe-

nomena exhibited by the Polynesian language. That language is essentially the same, from the Sandwich Islands to New Zealand, from Easter Island to Sumatra; and the numberless tribes of islanders, by whom it is spoken, must therefore of necessity have had one common origin. But Mr. Ellis supposes that the tribes of wandering Tartars, that had emigrated to the eastward from China or Chinese Tartary—travelling first of all in their dog-sledges along the shores of the sea of Ochotsk and amid the snow-drift of Kamtschatka, then crossing over to the American continent by the Aleoutski Islands, afterwards passing along the frozen lakes of the northern regions of that vast continent, then descending the Mississippi River towards Mexico and California, and at length putting to sea again to discover the South Sea Islands—still continued in all their generations, and notwithstanding all their migrations, to speak the very same language as was spoken by their forefathers so many ages before, and so many thousand leagues to the westward; insomuch that, on meeting with the emigrants from Java and Sumatra, they could

converse with them quite familiarly in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. In short, the supposition is utterly preposterous.

The intelligent Bavarian traveller to whom I have already referred, finding the existence, and the past and present condition, of man in the forests of America a problem too difficult for his own philosophy to solve, has adopted the unphilosophical hypothesis which the Roman historian, Tacitus, had advanced so long before in regard to the existence of his own German forefathers in the ancient Hercynian forest. Dr. Von Martius believes the Indo-Americans indigenous. He regards them as a race peculiar to the continent they inhabit—an inferior and unfinished specimen of humanity—the abortive effort, perchance, of some ancient demiurgus, emulous, but yet utterly unable, to copy the noblest work of the Supreme Creator,—the Caucasian, or European, man. The German philosopher's description of his unhappy subject is highly interesting, highly eloquent; and, as it serves to form the groundwork of one of the most recently erected superstructures of infidelity,

it may not be unprofitable for the reader to find that that superstructure has already fallen to the ground, and that each of those mysterious peculiarities in the character and condition of the Indo-American, to which philosophy proudly and triumphantly appeals in her eagerness to give the lie to Divine Revelation, strongly and strikingly corroborates the truth of the ancient declaration of Holy Writ, that "God hath made of one blood all the nations of men *for to dwell on all the face of the earth.*"

"The indigenous race of the New World," observes Dr. Von Martius, "is distinguished from all the other nations of the earth, externally by peculiarities of make, but still more, internally, by their state of mind and intellect. The aboriginal American is at once in the incapacity of infancy and unpliancy of old age; he unites the opposite poles of intellectual life. This strange and inexplicable condition has hitherto frustrated almost every attempt to reconcile him completely with the European, to whom he gives way, so as to make him a cheerful and happy member of the

community; and it is this, his double nature, which presents the greatest difficulty to science, when she endeavours to investigate his origin and those earlier epochs of his history in which he has, for thousands of years, moved indeed, but made no improvement in his condition. But this is far removed from that natural state of child-like serenity which marked (as an inward voice declares to us, and as the most ancient written documents affirm,) the first and purest period of the history of mankind. The men of the *red race*, on the contrary, it must be confessed, do not appear to feel the blessing of a Divine descent, but to have been led by merely animal instinct and tardy steps through a dark Past to their actual cheerless Present. Much, therefore, seems to intimate that the native Americans are not in the first stage of that simple—we might say, physical—developement, that they are in a secondary regenerated state.

"We behold in Brazil a thinly scattered poputation of aboriginal natives, who agree in bodily make, temperament, disposition, manners, cus-

toms, and mode of living; but their languages present a truly astonishing discordance. We often meet with one used only by a few individuals connected with each other by relationship, who are thus completely isolated, and can hold no communication with any of their other countrymen far and near. Out of the twenty Indians employed as rowers in the boat in which we navigated the streams of the interior, there were often not more than three or four who understood any common language; and we had, before our eyes, the melancholy spectacle of individuals labouring jointly, though entirely isolated with respect to every thing which contributes to the satisfaction of the first wants of life. In gloomy silence did these Indians ply the oar together, and join in managing the boat, or in taking their frugal meals; but no common voice or common interest cheered them as they sat beside each other during a journey of several hundred miles, which their various fortunes had called them to perform together."

After mentioning the fact that one hundred

and fifty different languages and dialects are spoken in Brazil, and that more than two hundred and fifty different names of nations, hordes, or tribes, are at present found in that country, Dr. Von Martius observes: "To guide the inquirer through the intricacies of this labyrinth, there is not a vestige of history to afford any clue. Not a ray of tradition, not a war-song nor a funeral-lay can be found to clear away the dark night in which the earlier ages of America are involved." And again, "To the north of the river of Amazons there is an extraordinary number of small hordes and tribes bearing the most dissimilar appellations, as if the original population, displaced by still more frequent emigrations, wars, and other unknown catastrophes, had here been broken up and split into feebler aggregations. These hordes are found consisting of only one, or at most a few families, entirely cut off from all communication with their neighbours; cautiously concealed in the gloom of their primeval forests, from which they never issue except when terrified by some external cause; and speaking a highly impo-

verished and crippled language — the afflicting image of that hapless state in which man oppressed with the curse of his existence, as if striving to fly from himself, shuns the approach of his brother.

" While, in other parts of the world, we see various degrees of intellectual developement and retardation simultaneously and proximately occurring—the ever-varying consequences of the changing course of events, the whole aboriginal population of America, on the contrary, exhibits one monotonous poverty of intellect and mental torpor; as if neither internal emotions, nor the impression of external objects, had been able to rouse and release them from their moral inflexibility. This is the more astonishing, as it appears to extend from pole to pole, and applies to the inhabitants of the tropics as well as to the natives of the frozen zones. Yet, this rude and melancholy condition is, beyond a doubt, not the first in which the American was placed; it is a degenerate and debased state. Far beyond it, and separated by the obscurity of ages, lies a nobler

past, which he once enjoyed, but which can now be only inferred from a few relics. Colossal works of architecture, comparable in extent to the monuments of ancient Egypt, (as those of Tiahuanacu on the lake Titicaca, which the Peruvians, as far back as the time of the Spanish conquest, beheld with wonder as the remains of a much more ancient people,—raised, according to tradition, as if by magic, in a single night; and similar creations, scattered in enigmatic fragments, here and there, over both the Americas,) bear witness that their inhabitants had, in remote ages, developed a moral power and mental cultivation which have now entirely vanished. A mere semblance of them—an attempt to bring back a period which had long passed by—seems perceptible in the kingdom and institutions of the Incas. In Brazil no such trace of an earlier civilization has yet been discovered; and if it ever existed here, it must have been in a very remotely distant period; yet still, even the condition of the Brazilians, as of every other American people, furnishes proofs that the inhabitants of this New Continent,

as it is called, are by no means a modern race, *even supposing we could assume our Christian chronology as a measure for the age and historical developement of their country.* This irrefragable evidence is furnished by Nature herself, in the domestic animals and esculent plants by which the aboriginal American is surrounded, and which trace an essential feature in the history of his mental culture. The present state of these productions of nature is a documentary proof, that in America she has been already, for many thousands of years, influenced by the improving and transforming hand of man." After pursuing this idea at considerable length, Dr. Von Martius states his " conviction, that *the first germs of developement of the human race in America can be sought nowhere except in that quarter of the globe.*"

" Besides the traces of a primeval, and, in like manner, ante-historic culture of the human race in America, as well as a very early influence on the productions of nature, we may also adduce, as a ground for these views, the basis of the present state of natural and civil rights among the

aboriginal Americans;—I mean precisely, as before observed, that enigmatical subdivision of the natives into an almost countless multitude of greater and smaller groups, and that almost entire exclusion and excommunication with regard to each other, in which mankind presents its different families to us in America, like the fragments of a vast ruin. The history of the other nations inhabiting the earth furnishes nothing which has any analogy to this.

"This disrupture of all the bands by which society was anciently held together, accompanied by a Babylonish confusion of tongues multiplied by it,—the rude right of force, the never-ending tacit warfare of all against all, springing from that very disrupture,—appear to me the most essential, and, as far as history is concerned, the most significant points in the civil condition of the Brazilians, and, in general, of the whole aboriginal population of America. Such a state of society cannot be the consequence of modern revolutions. It indicates, by marks which cannot be overlooked or disputed, the lapse of many ages.

"Long-continued migrations of single nations and tribes have doubtless taken place from a very early period throughout the whole continent of America, and they may have been especially the causes of dismemberment and corruption in the languages, and of a corresponding demoralization of the people. By assuming that only a few leading nations were at first, as was the case with the Tupi people, dispersed like so many rays of light, mingled together, and dissolved, as it were, into each other by mutual collision; and that these migrations, divisions, and subsequent combinations have been continued *for countless ages*, the present state of mankind in America may assuredly be accounted for: but the cause of this singular misdevelopement remains, no less on that account, unknown and enigmatical. Can it be conjectured that some extensive convulsion of nature—some earthquake rending asunder sea and land, such as is reported to have swallowed up the far-famed island of Atalantis—has there swept away the inhabitants in its vortex? Has such a calamity filled the survivors with a terror so monstrous, as, handed down from race to race, must

have darkened and perplexed their intellects, hardened their hearts, and driven them, as if flying at random from each other, far from the blessings of social life? Have, perchance, burning and destructive suns, or overwhelming floods, threatened the man of the red race with a horrible death by famine, and armed him with a rude and unholy hostility, so that, maddened against himself by atrocious and bloody acts of cannibalism, he has fallen from the godlike dignity for which he was designed, to his present degraded state of darkness? Or is this *inhumanness* the consequence of deeply-rooted preternatural vices, inflicted by the genius of our race (with a severity which, to the eye of a short-sighted observer, appears throughout all nature like cruelty) on the innocent as well as the guilty?"

The conclusion which the learned Bavarian draws from these premises is, "that it is impossible entirely to discard the idea of some general defect in the organization of the red race of men; for it is manifest, that it already bears within itself the germ of an early extinction. The Ame-

ricans, it cannot be doubted, exhibit symptoms of approaching dissolution. Other nations will live, when these unblessed children of the New World have all gone to their final rest in the long sleep of death. Their songs have long ceased to resound; the immortality of their edifices has long been mouldering; and no elevated spirit has revealed itself in any noble effusions from that quarter of the globe. Without being reconciled with the nations of the East, or with their own fortunes, they are already vanishing away: yes, it almost appears as if no other intellectual life were allotted to them, than that of calling forth our painful compassion; as if they existed only for the negative purpose of awakening our astonishment, by the spectacle of a whole race of men, the inhabitants of a large portion of the globe, in a state of living decay.

" In fact, the present and future condition of this red race of men, who wander about in their native land, without house or covering,—whom the most benevolent and brotherly love despairs of ever providing with a home,—is a monstrous

and tragical drama, such as no fiction of the poet ever yet presented to our contemplation. A whole race of men is wasting away before the eyes of its commiserating contemporaries: no power of princes, philosophy, or Christianity, can arrest its proudly gloomy progress towards a certain and utter destruction."*

In regard to that peculiarity of make, which, in the estimation of Dr. Von Martius, establishes a radical distinction between the Indo-Americans and all the other divisions of the human family, the difference in external appearance between the aborigines of America and the Polynesians is not greater than might have been expected between tribes of mankind derived from the same common source, but placed in circumstances so very different as to climate and modes of life, during a long succession of ages. Captain Basil Hall detected the Malay (i. e. the Polynesian)

* "Von dem Rechtzustande unter der Ureinwohnern Brasiliens." Eine Abhandlung Von Dr. C. F. Ph. Von Martius.—"On the State of Civil and Natural Rights among the Aborigines of the Brazils." Translated by the Rev. G. C. Renouard, B. D.—Journal of the Royal Geog. Society, vol. ii.

cast of countenance in the Indians of Acapulco; and I am confident the Bavarian philosopher would have acknowledged the striking resemblance that subsists between the Indo-Brazilian and the New Zealander, if he had ever had an opportunity of instituting the comparison. At the same time it is a well-known fact, that the common domestic animals do not improve, but rather degenerate, in America; and the same unfavourable influence may have had some effect also on the human form.

As an instance of the influence and effect of climate on the human frame, the phenomenon observed by Burckhardt, in his "Travels in Nubia," is deserving of particular attention. That accurate traveller speaks of a tribe of Arabs, called the Shegyia tribe, inhabiting the north of Africa, who retain the Arab features, speak the Arabic language, and trace their descent from the purest Arabian blood, but who are nevertheless as black as negroes. Black Jews are met with in Morocco and in the East Indies; and the genuine descendants of the old Portuguese settlers on the coast

of Coromandel are as dark as the Hindoos. In short, there is nothing in the Indo-American peculiarity of make that may not have arisen from the influence of climate and modes of life; and when the absolute identity of that great division of the human race with the South Sea Islanders can be satisfactorily established on so many independent grounds, it is not inconsistent with true philosophy to ascribe the difference in external form and mental character to that influence alone.

But Dr. Von Martius prefers a still graver charge against the Indo-Americans. He regards them as a radically inferior race—inferior in point of intellect to the rest of mankind, and hopelessly irreclaimable. This idea but ill accords with the state of things among the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians at the era of the Spanish conquest, or with the evidences of a still higher state of civilization with which, on his own showing, the American continent still abounds. What other division of the human race would, in similar circumstances, have attained a higher level than the Indo-Americans appear to have reached? Had Europe, for

instance, been inhabited exclusively either by the Celtic or the Teutonic race * for the last three thousand years; had that race been shut out from all communication with the rest of mankind; had they been equally ignorant of letters and of the use of iron; had their only domestic animals been the dog, the turkey, the llama, and the duck,—and their only species of grain, Indian corn,—I question whether Europe itself would have vied at this moment with ancient Mexico and Peru. But the manifestations of Indian intellect were not confined to central America. The Indian, Philip, who headed a coalition of Indian nations to expel the colonists of New England, about the middle of the seventeenth century, was a hero of the highest accomplishments, and as worthy of a poet as any of the famous warriors of the Iliad: and, for a long period after the occupation of their country, the French Canadians had abundant experience of

* Hi (Belgæ, scilicet, vel Teutones et Celtæ) differunt inter se institutis, moribus, linguis. Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. i. 1. "The Belgians and the Celts, the ancient inhabitants of France, differ from each other in their institutions, in their manners, in their languages." I apprehend there is no such radical difference traceable between the different tribes of the aborigines of America.

the superior intelligence of the warlike Iroquois. But the atrocities of Cortez, and the robberies of Pizarro, the *auto-da-fe* that was practised on the brave Guatimozin, and the condemnation of his unhappy subjects to the Spanish mines—these and a thousand other acts of injustice, villany, and oppression, on the part of numerous European intruders, gradually broke the spirit of the Indo-Americans, and reduced them to that state of intellectual debasement and national decay which they now almost uniformly exhibit.

Dr. Dwight, a highly competent authority, repudiates the idea of there being any organic defect in the mental constitution of the Indo-American, of such a kind as to involve an original and inherent incompetency for intellectual, moral, and religious improvement. "From Major-General Gookin," observes Dr. D., "a perfectly unexceptionable witness, we learn with certainty, that, in the colony of Massachusetts' Bay, there were in his time eleven hundred praying Indians in fourteen villages. In the colony of Plymouth, there were at the same time, including those of all

ages, not far from six thousand: in Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, there were perhaps fifteen hundred more: when to these we add those in Connecticut, the number may be estimated at not far from ten thousand. These facts perfectly refute the opinion that there is some peculiar difficulty attending the conversion of Indians, which is inherent in their character or manners. It cannot, however, be denied, that the attempts which have been made in modern times to spread the influence of the Gospel among them, have in a great measure been unsuccessful."* And no wonder that they should; for the intercourse of Europeans with the Indo-Americans, even in North America, has too frequently been one of oppression and spoliation to the Indian, even when no such result was either wished for or intended. The march of European civilization in that continent has been a march in which the Indian has been trodden down like the leaves of his own gloomy forest.

* "Dwight's Travels in America," vol. iii. page 72.

In regard to the state of the animals which had been domesticated, and of the plants cultivated, by the Indo-Americans, previous to the era of the Spanish conquest, which Dr. Von Martius regards as an incontrovertible evidence of the existence of the aborigines of America long anterior to the period assigned in the Christian chronology for the creation of the world, *risum teneatis, amici?* Are three thousand years (for I will most willingly grant the Doctor that period) not sufficient to tame a turkey, or to naturalize a plant of Indian corn? Arguments are surely scarce at Munich, when the learned Bavarian resorts to such arguments as these.

The argument deduced from the breaking up of the American people into an infinity of tribes, speaking an infinity of tongues, is less easily disposable. The acutest and the best informed American travellers, however,—Humboldt, Dr. Von Martius himself, and several of the North American literati,—inform us that the Indians of both continents are reducible to a few leading nations, and the languages spoken from Lake Michigan

to Patagonia, to a few leading tongues. I have already shown that in the immediate vicinity of the first settlements of the aborigines of America, and, in short, wherever the character of the country favoured the formation of extensive communities, such communities were actually formed, and attained, in many instances, a comparatively high degree of civilization; but that, on the contrary, wherever the Indian had to contend with interminable forests of hard timber, as in the provinces of the Brazilian empire, or even with the rank vegetation of the tropics, as in British Guiana, the aboriginal population was necessarily broken up from the first into small independent tribes, that relapsed more or less rapidly into a state of comparative barbarism.* This process of disruption has doubtless been much accelerated by the state

* In speaking of "the obstacles to the progress of society in the torrid zone, from the climate and the strength of vegetation," Humboldt observes, that "in every zone the configuration of the ground, the physiognomy of the plants, and the aspect of a smiling or savage nature, have great influence on the progress of the arts, and on the style which distinguishes their productions; and this influence is so much the more perceptible, as man is farther removed from civilization."—Personal Narrative, Introd. p. 33.

of society, that has uniformly prevailed both among the Polynesian and the Indo-American nations; for in a state of things in which every tribe is at war with every other, and in which the ferocities of savage warfare are aggravated tenfold by the atrocities of cannibalism, there would necessarily be little of that intercourse which is absolutely necessary, even in a very different state of society, to preserve unity of speech.

There is an inherent tendency moreover in all languages to change; and this tendency is much more powerfully operative in vocalic languages, or those in which the meaning of words depends chiefly on the accent, the emphasis, or the quantity of vowel-sounds, than in the consonantal languages of the Teutonic family. There are dirges regularly chanted at the funerals of chiefs in some of the South Sea Islands, composed in ancient languages no longer intelligible to the natives. And the Jesuits of the Romish China mission inform us, that in that great empire, whose inhabitants possess a written language which is intelligible almost to one half of the

human race, and have arrived at a degree of civilization and refinement, which at first sight would be supposed to imply a uniformity of speech; there is nevertheless so endless a diversity of tongues, that the inhabitants of one village can scarcely understand the speech of another. Need we be astonished, therefore, at the Babylonish confusion of tongues among the solitary savage cannibal tribes that inhabit the forests of the Brazils? *

In regard to the period at which the continent of America was originally discovered by some Heaven-directed wanderers of the Polynesian nation, it is evident that a long series of ages must

* "The negro races who inhabit the mountains of the Malayan peninsula, in the lowest and most abject state of social existence, though numerically few, are divided into a great many distinct tribes, speaking as many different languages. Among the rude and scattered population of the island of Timor, it is believed that not less than forty languages are spoken. On Ende and Fleres we have also a multiplicity of languages; and among the cannibal population of Borneo, it is not improbable that many hundreds are spoken. Civilization advances as we proceed westward; and in the considerable island of Sambawa there are but five tongues; in the civilized portion of Celebes not more than four; in the great island of Sumatra not above six, and in Java but two."—Crawford's Hist. Ind. Archip. vol. ii. p. 79.

have rolled over the heads of its aboriginal nations ere such a state of things as America exhibited at the era of the Spanish conquest, in regard to the wide dispersion of its Indian population, could possibly have been arrived at. It follows, therefore, that even on this ground alone, independently of every other consideration, we must utterly reject the crude and irrational hypotheses of those fanciful philosophers who derive the Indo-American race either from a colony of shipwrecked Britons of the tenth or eleventh century, or from a tribe of Tartars driven eastward across Behring's Straits by the Aleoutski Islands, during the tyranny of Zengis Khan; the state of things exhibited by the Indian nations and the Indian languages of America, on the discovery of that continent by Europeans, being altogether irreconcileable with the supposition of so recent an origin. America was undoubtedly peopled many ages before Julius Cæsar landed in Britain; and the colossal structures of his forefathers, that still excite the wonder of the wandering Indian of Peru, were in all likelihood in ruins long before

the great-grandfather of the Tartar conqueror was born.

It is doubtless impossible to fix the date of the original discovery of America with any degree of precision. Still, however, we may come within a moderate distance of the truth even on this dark subject. There is evidence to guide the judicious inquirer—scanty in its amount, doubtless, but definite in its announcements, and just as little likely to mislead as the records of ancient eclipses.

1. The first of the sources of this evidence to which we are naturally directed is the Polynesian language. In tracing the affinities of the Malayan and Polynesian tongues, I have already remarked that there are two epochs in the history of the former to which our attention ought to be especially turned. The first of these is the epoch of the Sanscrit, the second the epoch of the Arabic, infusion.

Of the Arabic, or more recent infusion, the Polynesian language exhibits no trace whatever. We are therefore warranted to conclude, that the

stream of emigration had ceased to flow from the Indian Archipelago towards the continent of America long before the era of Mahomet, or the rise and prevalence of the Saracen power.

Of the Sanscrit, or more ancient infusion, which has even changed the aspect and character of the ancient Malayan language, its Polynesian sister, or rather daughter, exhibits no tincture whatever. It follows therefore that the stream of emigration, which was destined to people the South Sea Islands and the continent of America, must have been flowing from the Indian Archipelago towards that distant continent long before the ancient Sanscrit language was spoken in the Indian isles. But that venerable language, like the Latin and Greek tongues in Europe, has been a dead language in India for many centuries. It must have been a living language, however, at the period when a portion of its substance was imbedded into the Malayan tongue—a period, we have reason to believe, long anterior to the Christian era. But before that period had arrived, the forefathers of the present Polynesians must have quitted the Indian Archipelago, and individuals of their num-

ber may perhaps have reached the far-distant American land.

2. The religion of the Polynesians and the Indo-Americans indicates, in like manner, a remote antiquity. The idea that God is a spirit invisible to men, is still common to both of these numerous divisions of the human family; but from whence could this sublime idea—unknown to the metaphysical idolaters of India, unknown to the philosophical idolaters of Greece—have been derived by the New Zealand cannibal and the wandering Indian of America, but from that ancient, primitive, patriarchal religion, which was doubtless taught by Noah and his sons to their immediate posterity, but which was so speedily forgotten or debased by the great majority of the tribes of men? *

* The Indians of the forest, when they visit occasionally the missions, conceive with difficulty the idea of a temple or an image. "These good people," said the missionary, "like only processions in the open air. When I last celebrated the patron festival of my village, that of San Antonio, the Indians of Inirida were present at mass. 'Your God,' said they to me, 'keeps himself shut up in a house, as if he were old and infirm: ours is in the forest, in the fields, and on the mountains of Sipapu, whence the rains come.'"—Humboldt's Narrative, vol. v. p. 273.

The form of the Polynesian and Indo-American temples refers us also to a remote antiquity. They were merely square spaces enclosed with massive walls, but without roofs. Such, also, was the form of the most ancient Egyptian temples. In regard to the bearing of this circumstance on our present inquiry, it is observed by Mr. Mitford, in his "History of Greece," that the antiquity of the writings of Homer may be inferred from his silence on the subject of temples and image-worship. It would seem, however, that they were both equally unknown to the ancient South Sea Islanders and the Indo-Americans, although a species of image-worship has undoubtedly prevailed, in later times, in some of the groups of islands. The same inference, therefore, is as legitimately deducible in the latter case as in the former.

The horrible practice of offering human sacrifices (which I have already shown has prevailed extensively among the Indo-Americans as well as among the Polynesians) appears also to be indicative of an ancient origin. Tacitus informs us

that this practice was in use among a tribe of the ancient Germans:* its prevalence among the ancient Celts, under the reign of the Druids, is matter of notoriety.† The question of the king of Moab, "Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" and the whole hecatombs of victims‡ that were offered up in Sicily after the battle of Himera by the Carthaginian general, Hannibal the elder, to the manes of his grandfather Hamilcar, who had been defeated and slain by the Sicilians under Gelon about fifty years before, attest its frequency among the ancient Phœnicians; while the story of Iphigenia perhaps indicates its prevalence among the ancient Pelasgi in

* "Stato tempore, in silvam, auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram, omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, cæsoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia."—Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

† The stated time alluded to by Tacitus was called *Beltan* by the ancient Celtic inhabitants of Scotland, by whom a similar practice was annually observed. The word, which is still used in Scotland to signify a term in the year, is a corruption, I have been given to understand, of the Celtic words *Bel-teyn*, "the fire of Bel, Baal, or Belus," the victim being first killed and then consumed by fire.

‡ The number sacrificed was 3000. B.C. 410.

the isles of Greece. "But these," to use the Scripture phrase, "are ancient things."

The practice of *tattooing*, or imprinting indelible marks upon the skin—a singular practice, which appears to have prevailed at one time over all the islands of the Pacific, although now disused in some of them, but of the origin of which no satisfactory account is given by the Islanders themselves—appears to me also to carry us back to the remotest antiquity, and to have been originally a religious or rather superstitious observance in honour of some divinity. From a passage in the Book of Leviticus it would appear to have obtained among the ancient Egyptians, for we find a precept expressly prohibiting it in the ancient Levitical law, conjoined with other precepts prohibiting other practices apparently indifferent; but which, it has been ascertained, however, were religious, or rather heathenish, observances of that ancient people. "Ye shall not eat any thing with the blood: neither shall ye use enchantment, nor observe times. Ye shall not round the corners of your heads; neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard. Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for

the dead,* NOR PRINT ANY MARKS UPON YOU: I am the Lord." Levit. xix. 26. 28.

The practice which the ancient people of God were thus divinely forbidden, for a reason which is expressly assigned in the sequel, viz. because the Lord had "brought them *out of the land of Egypt*,"—there is, consequently, reason to believe was in general use among the ancient Egyptians. It still prevails among the inhabitants of the island of Formosa on the coast of China, and has all along been a national practice among the scattered Polynesians. It was observed, moreover, by Captain Vancouver among the Indians of Nootka Sound; and the Rev. Mr. West informs us, in his "Journal of a Residence in the Red River Colony," that it is occasionally observed among the Indians of Hudson's Bay.

But whatever may have been the origin and the object of this singular practice, and in whatever part of the world it originated, it is evidently a practice of the remotest antiquity—one that carries us back, in our inquiries into the origin of the

* *Cuttings for the dead* are also frequent in the South Sea Islands.

Polynesian and Indo-American nations, almost to the era of the deluge.

3. These indications of remote antiquity are borne out and corroborated in a remarkable manner, by the style and character of those remains of ancient Polynesian, as well as of ancient Indo-American architecture, which have hitherto excited the wonder and mocked the ingenuity of the ablest speculators. These remains consist chiefly of the ruins of ancient temples, pyramids, and tumuli; the chief, and the most remarkable characteristics of which are the magnitude of their dimensions, and the massiveness of their architecture, compared with those of the ephemeral erections of modern times, and especially with those of the erections of the more recent aboriginal inhabitants of America, and of the South Sea Islands. Now, it appears to me, that just as an architect, who surveys the ruin of some ancient building for the first time, can at once tell the age or period to which its erection is to be assigned, merely from the style of its architecture, and can pronounce it unhesitatingly either a

Celtic, or a Saxon, or a Norman erection,—there is a sort of internal evidence afforded by these most interesting remains of Polynesian and Indo-American civilization, which can enable an attentive observer to ascertain, with a tolerable degree of precision, the age or period in the past history of man, to which their erection may be referred. In short, I conceive that the ruins in question afford us a means of ascertaining the period at which the forefathers of the modern Polynesian and Indo-American races originally took their departure from the Indian Archipelago.

Various circumstances in the aspect and history of the earlier postdiluvian nations warrant the conclusion that these nations, so far from being in a state of comparative barbarism, as is generally, though gratuitously, supposed, had attained a considerable degree of civilization, and that they had derived that civilization from one common source.* In Tuscany and in Egypt,

* The books of Moses abound with highly interesting and instructive indications of the state of the arts and sciences among the earlier postdiluvian nations. From these, as well as from existing monuments, it appears that the Egyptians in particular had

in India and in China, and I will add even in the South Sea Islands and in both Americas, we behold the evidences of a primitive civilization, which in some instances had run its course anterior to the age of Homer, but which, at all events, acknowledged no obligation to the wisdom or refinement of the Greeks. The poet Lucretius inquires why there are no poems of an earlier date than the siege of Troy, and infers that as no poems of an earlier period have been preserved, it has been because none were written. But we may rest assured that poetry was not the invention of Orpheus, or of Hesiod, or of Homer. If *the harp and the organ*—these antediluvian inventions of

made very great progress in civilization at an early period after the deluge; but the general aspect of things exhibited in the books of Moses indicates a general, and by no means inconsiderable, advance in civilization. The use of money, for instance, was well known in the days of Abraham; and caravans of merchants already traversed the Arabian deserts, exchanging the productions of one country for those of another. Chariots armed with scythes were used in the Canaanitish wars. Walled cities with locks and keys were numerous. There were surveyors in Joshua's army, who prepared a general chart of the land of Canaan; and the city of *Kirjathsepher*, (the city of the book,) which was anciently called *Debir*, (a word of similar import,) was in all likelihood the seat of an academy or college. In short, the general aspect of society in these primitive times indicates no inconsiderable progress in civilization.

Jubal—were made to "discourse sweet music" in the cities of Cain, we may conclude with absolute certainty, that *the daughters of men* would link with their dulcet sounds the inspirations of poetry and the symphonies of song. In short, it was not because man was a barbarian that God brought the waters of Noah over the earth, but because *the world by wisdom knew not God,* and because its knowledge, and its advancement in civilization, were universally perverted and dreadfully abused; insomuch that, in the language of Scripture, "the wickedness of man upon the earth was great exceedingly, and the cry of it went up to Heaven."

But if the antediluvians were not barbarians, neither were those eight persons that survived the deluge, and landed on the mountains of Armenia from that ancient vessel which was destined to preserve the relics of one world and the germ of another. Antecedently to all historical evidence of the fact, we should be warranted in supposing that Noah and his sons would preserve a knowledge of the arts that flourished, and of the sciences that were cultivated, in the antediluvian world; and that they would exhibit in their

earliest postdiluvian settlements the forms and features of antediluvian civilization. But we are not left to the uncertainty of mere conjecture on this point; for the first act of the liberated occupant of the ark was to cultivate the vine, and the earliest effort of the combined labour of his offspring was *to build a city and a tower whose top should reach the heavens.* "The wisdom of the Egyptians"—the most ancient and the most famous of the postdiluvian nations, and "the excellency of the Chaldees"—the illustrious contemporaries of the Pharaohs, were, doubtless, the transcript of antediluvian science and of antediluvian refinement; for as surely as the forefathers of the New Zealand nation would import the arts and the institutions of their native isle into that distant island, in whatever manner they had reached its solitary shore, and would erect in their new settlement a framework of society and of civilization exactly similar to the one which was still fresh in their recollection, so surely would the earliest of the postdiluvian nations endeavour to remodel society, in all its parts and in all its relations, agree-

ably to the fashion of the world that had passed so recently away.* If therefore we are utterly confounded in contemplating those stupendous monuments of Egyptian magnificence which have hitherto defied the ravages of time, and which seem to look scornfully down on the straw-built and ephemeral cottages of modern men, it is because these vast and everlasting erections were the ambitious offspring, as they evidently still retain the impression, of an intellect whose measure of space and of time was altogether different from our own. In short, the colossal statues, the immense temples, and the vast pyramids of Egypt, were undoubtedly formed on the antediluvian model—the model of a world in which the pride and the wickedness of man were enormous, and in which his lifetime was a thousand years.† And

* The city of Rio de Janeiro was originally settled by emigrants from Oporto, and is therefore, in relation to the style of its buildings, an exact copy of that European city.

† I have not seen this particular species of collateral evidence in support of the truth of the Mosaic account of the longevity of the antediluvians brought forward any where in the course of my reading. But whether it has ever been so or not, the evidence itself is incontrovertible. The style and character of the public

wherever we find monuments of a similar character, we may rest assured that they were the work of a people whose civilization was derived immediately from the same primitive source.

The existence, therefore, of remains of ancient buildings in America, of a style and character analogous to those of ancient Egypt, (to which I have already remarked there is something similar even in the South Sea Islands, and in some of the islands of the Indian Archipelago,) affords a presumption that the people by whom these buildings were erected had derived their knowledge of the arts and sciences from those primitive times in which the impression of antediluvian civilization still remained visible on the intellect of man. In short,

buildings of the antediluvians must have been totally different from that of the edifices of modern times, if the Mosaic account of the age of the antediluvians is a true one. The effort to resist the ravages of time must in that case have been much more systematic, and of consequence correspondingly successful. And although the circumstances of the human race were completely changed in regard to the duration of human life after the deluge, the plans of the antediluvian architect would still be followed, for a time, by the postdiluvian nations, on the same principle that induces Europeans settled beyond seas to build houses on the plan of those they were accustomed to at home, although the climate may be totally different from that of their native land.

there is reason to believe, that the forefathers of the great Malayan nation had arrived and settled in Eastern Asia and in the isles adjacent, at a period coeval with the origin and establishment of the Egyptian empire in the west; and that the Indian Archipelago and the Western Pacific were traversed in all directions by the beautifully-carved galleys of that maritime people, long before Agamemnon and his brother chiefs had conducted their hordes of semi-barbarous Greeks to the siege and pillage of Troy.

I have already observed, that the earliest effort of the combined labour of the postdiluvian inhabitants of the earth was *to build a city and a tower whose top should reach the heavens.* This latter expression is doubtless a mere hyperbole, intended to denote the prodigious elevation to which it was proposed to carry the tower; but the fact that a tower or pyramid (for it is allowed on all hands that the tower of Babel was a pyramid) was the sort of building which the earlier postdiluvians proposed to erect, suggests the two following questions:—1st, What was the object in view in erecting a building of that kind? and,

2nd, From whence had the builders borrowed or conceived the design of so peculiar a structure?

Whether the ostensible object of the architects of the tower of Babel was to prepare a suitable mausoleum for the mouldering remains of departed greatness, or to rear a *high place* for the worship of the Divinity, the real object of its projector is sufficiently obvious from the sacred narrative. The building was evidently intended to subserve the purposes of personal ambition,—to concentrate and to enslave the rapidly increasing and extending population of the recently deluged world; in short, to pave the way for the establishment of a universal and despotic monarchy. And what could possibly have suggested so singular a method of effecting such an object, but that the plan had been adopted and been found successful before? In short, there is reason to believe that such towers as the tower of Babel were the proud distinctions of the metropolitan cities of the antediluvian world,—the favourite appendages of antediluvian royalty—the usual evidences and effects of an-

tediluvian despotism. For *there were giants,* i. e. men of prodigious ambition—*men of renown in those days;* and no wonder that individuals of this description—the Napoleons and the Alexanders of the world before the flood—should acquire extensive dominion, and exercise their authority with a tyranny and oppression unequalled in modern times, when they could not only accumulate in their own persons the wisdom and experience of generations, but could count upon whole centuries to mature their plans and to consolidate their power.

It was doubtless to counteract the enormous evils that had arisen from this state of things in the antediluvian world—to deliver humanity from the violence and oppression to which it had subjected a large portion of the human race, and to prevent the recurrence of that universal and enormous depravity to which it had so powerfully contributed—that the Divinity himself beneficently interposed, at the building of the tower of Babel, to confound the projects of those ambitious men who wished to re-enact the antediluvian

drama in the postdiluvian world. In short, the necessity for extinguishing the whole antediluvian race was the first *dignus vindice nodus;* the necessity for preventing the recurrence of that state of things which had rendered such a catastrophe indispensably necessary was the second. In the former of these conjunctures the Divinity interposed with a deluge of water; in the latter, he interposed by gradually shortening the duration of human life, and by suddenly rendering human language, which had doubtless previously been a bond of union and concentration, a source of separation and dispersion.

If the sacred writer had merely left it on record that *God had made of one blood all the nations of men,* the phenomena of language would have remained unexplained and inexplicable; for although it is quite possible to refer the Indian, Pelasgic, Germanic, and Celtic tongues, to one and the same origin, and to account for their great diversity on that principle of mutability to which human language is every where subjected, I apprehend it is utterly impossible to refer the

languages of the remoter east to that common origin, or to account for the total absence of all analogy in their structure and formation to the languages of the west, on any other hypothesis, than that God, who had made of one blood, and of *one lip* or language, all the nations of men, was pleased, for the wise and beneficent purpose declared by the sacred writer, suddenly to confound the speech of men, so that one tribe or division of the human family found itself thenceforth using a language constructed on totally different principles from those of the rest of mankind, and consequently unintelligible to all but themselves. These fundamental principles, that distinguish one family of languages from another, and that seem to have been the result of some immediate acting of the Divinity on the intellect of particular tribes of men, are strikingly exemplified by the traveller Humboldt, in the case of American Indians acquiring with comparative facility a knowledge of the languages of other Indians, the words of which have no resemblance to their own, while they experience the utmost difficulty in acquiring

a European tongue. This immediate acting of the Divinity was doubtless the propelling power that caused the different tribes of mankind to diverge from their previous centre of attraction, and that led the forefathers of the Mongolian race to the farthest east.

But whether the tower of Babel was itself the transcript of antediluvian architecture or not, there is no question as to its having set the fashion to all those postdiluvian tribes that diverged to the eastward and westward from the plain of Shinar; and the prevalence of that style of building in the architectural remains of any country is accordingly a sure indication of remote antiquity. The pyramids of Egypt have been so famous in all past ages, and the durable materials of which they have been constructed have so long resisted the ravages of time, that we are apt to forget that Egypt is not the only country in which such stupendous and apparently useless structures have been reared. The ancient Etrurians, whose elegantly-formed vases were occasionally dug up in the neighbourhood of Rome in the age of Au-

gustus, and were then esteemed as precious a relic of antiquity as a Grecian statue in the present age, had evidently imbibed their civilization at the same fountain as the ancient Egyptians; for they also constructed pyramids, though of less durable materials than the pyramids of Egypt. Varro speaks of four Etrurian pyramids of upwards of eighty French metres, or about two hundred and fifty English feet, in perpendicular height. Pyramids of a remote antiquity have also been found in India and in China; and the Indian pagoda and the pyramidal forms which the Chinese and the Indo-Chinese nations,—those determined sticklers for the fashions of by-gone times—still affect in their public buildings, are doubtless to be referred to the same primitive source. I have already quoted Mr. Ellis's description of the Polynesian pyramid of Atehuru in Otaheite; and I shall now subjoin a few extracts from Baron Humboldt's account of those of Central America, which appear to have been constructed on a precisely similar plan.

"We shall be surprised to find," says that dis-

tinguished traveller, "towards the end of the fifteenth century, in a world which we call new, *those ancient institutions, those religious notions, and that style of building*, which seem in Asia to indicate the very dawn of civilization. The characteristic features of nations, like the internal construction of plants, spread over the surface of the globe, were *the impression of a primitive type*, notwithstanding the variety produced by the difference of climates, the nature of the soil, and the concurrence of many accidental causes.

"A small number of nations, far distant from each other,—the Etruscans, the Egyptians, the people of Thibet, and the Aztecks (or Mexicans),—exhibit striking analogies in their buildings, their religious institutions, their division of time, their cycles of regeneration, and their mystic notions." *

"Among those swarms of nations, which, from the seventh to the twelfth century of the Christian era, successively inhabited the country of Mexico, five are enumerated,—the Toltecks, the Cicimecks,

* "Humboldt's Researches concerning the Institutions and Monuments of the ancient Inhabitants of America," vol. i. pp. 2. 11.

the Acolhuans, the Tlascaltecks, and the Aztecks, —who, notwithstanding their political divisions, spoke the same language, followed the same worship, and built pyramidal edifices, which they regarded as *Teocallis*, that is to say, the houses of their gods. These edifices were all of the same form, though of very different dimensions; they were pyramids, with several terraces, and the sides of which stood exactly in the direction of the meridian, and the parallel of the place. The teocalli was raised in the midst of a square and walled enclosure, which, somewhat like the περίβολος of the Greeks, contained gardens, fountains, the dwellings of the priests, and sometimes arsenals; since each house of a Mexican divinity, like the ancient temple of Baal-Berith, built by Abimelech, was a strong place. A great staircase led to the top of the truncated pyramid; and on the summit of the platform were one or two chapels, built like towers, which contained the colossal idols of the divinity to whom the teocalli was dedicated. This part of the edifice must be considered as the most consecrated place; like the

ναὸς, or rather the στέγος, of the Grecian temples: it was there also that the priests kept up the sacred fire. From the peculiar construction of the edifice we have just described, the priest who offered the sacrifice was seen by a great mass of the people at the same time: the procession of the *teopixqui*, ascending or descending the staircase of the pyramid, was beheld at a considerable distance. The inside of the edifice was the burial-place of the kings and principal personages of Mexico. It is impossible to read the descriptions which Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus have left us of the temple of Jupiter Belus, without being struck with the resemblance of that Babylonian monument to the teocallis of Anahuac."*

"At the period when the Mexicans, or Aztecks, took possession, in the year 1190, of the equinoctial region of New Spain, they already found the pyramidal monuments of Teotihuacan, of Cholula, or Chololan, and of Papantla. They attributed these great edifices to the Toltecks,

* "Humboldt's Researches," vol. i. p. 82.

a powerful and civilized nation, who inhabited Mexico five hundred years earlier, who made use of hieroglyphical characters, who computed the year more precisely, and had a more exact chronology than the greater part of the people of the old continent. The Aztecks knew not with certainty what tribe had inhabited the country of Anahuac before the Toltecks; and consequently the belief that the houses of the deity of Teotihuacan and of Cholollan was the work of the Toltecks, assigned them the highest antiquity they could conceive." *

"The group of the pyramids of Teotihuacan is in the valley of Mexico, eight leagues north-east from the capital, in a plain that bears the name of Micoatl, or the *path of the dead.* There are two large pyramids dedicated to the sun (Tonatiuh) and to the moon (Meztli); and these are surrounded by several hundreds of small pyramids, which form streets in exact lines from north to south, and from east to west. Of these two great

* "Humboldt's Researches," vol. p. i. 83.

teocallis, one is fifty-five metres (or one hundred and eighty feet), the other forty-four metres (or one hundred and forty-five feet) in perpendicular height. The basis of the first is two hundred and eight metres (or six hundred and seventy-six feet) in length; whence it results that it is higher than the Mycerinus, or third of the three great pyramids of Ghiza in Egypt, and the length of its base nearly equal to that of Cephrenes. The small pyramids, which surround the great houses of the Sun and the Moon, are scarcely nine or ten metres high; and served, according to the tradition of the natives, as burial-places for the chiefs of the tribes. Around the Cheops and the Mycerinus in Egypt there are eight small pyramids, placed with symmetry, and parallel to the fronts of the greater. The two teocallis of Teotihuacan had four principal stories, each of which was subdivided into steps, the edges of which are still to be distinguished. The nucleus is composed of clay mixed with small stones; and it is encased by a thick wall of tezontli, or porous amygdaloid. This construction recalls to mind that of one of

the Egyptian pyramids of Sakharah, which has six stories; and which, according to Pocock, is a mass of pebbles and yellow mortar, covered on the outside with rough stones. On the top of the great Mexican teocallis were two colossal statues of the Sun and the Moon; they were of stone, and covered with plates of gold, of which they were stripped by the soldiers of Cortez."

The pyramid of Papantla is of much smaller dimensions, but "is built entirely with hewn stones of an extraordinary size, and very beautifully and regularly shaped: three staircases lead to the top. The covering of its steps is decorated with hieroglyphical sculpture and small niches, which are arranged with great symmetry."

But "the greatest, most ancient, and most celebrated of the whole of the pyramidal monuments of Anahuac is the teocalli of Cholula. It is called in the present day the *mountain made by the hand of man* (monte hecho a manos). At a distance it has the aspect of a natural hill covered with vegetation. The teocalli of Cholula has four stories, all of equal height. It appears to

have been constructed exactly in the direction of the four cardinal points; but as the edges of the stories are not very distinct, it is difficult to ascertain their primitive direction. This pyramidical monument has a broader basis than that of any other edifice of the same kind in the old continent. I measured it carefully, and ascertained that its perpendicular height is only fifty metres (or one hundred and sixty-two feet), but that each side of its basis is four hundred and thirty-nine metres (or fourteen hundred and twenty-six feet) in length. The basis of the pyramid of Cholula is twice as broad as that of Cheops; but its height is very little more than that of the pyramid of Mycerinus."*

"We have above remarked the great similarity of construction between the Mexican teocallis and the temple of Bel, or Belus, at Babylon. This analogy had already struck Mr. Zoega, though he had been able to procure but very incomplete descriptions of the group of the pyramids of Teotihuacan. According to Herodotus, who visited

* "Humboldt's Researches," vol. i. p. 89.

Babylon, and saw the temple of Belus, this pyramidal monument had eight stories. It was a stadium (one hundred and eighty-three metres, or five hundred and ninety-five feet) high, and the breadth of its basis was equal to its height. The outer wall, which surrounded it, was two stadia square. The pyramid was built of brick and asphaltum. A temple was erected on its top, and another at its basis." " In the Mexican teocallis, as in the temple of Belus, the lower temple was distinguished from the one on the platform of the pyramid."*

It would thus appear that the religious worship and the religious edifices of the Indo-Americans and the South Sea Islanders were an exact transcript of the worship and the edifices of the earliest and the most celebrated of the postdiluvian nations. The inference deducible from this remarkable fact is, that the forefathers of the Polynesian and Indo-American nations must have separated from the rest of mankind when the

* " Humboldt's Researches," vol. i. p. 99.

system of religious worship, that required the construction of pyramidal edifices, was generally prevalent—before the introduction of those more debasing systems of idolatry that characterized a later age, and in all probability within a few centuries of the deluge. Humboldt has arrived at a similar conclusion on other grounds, and without reference to the Polynesian origin of the Indo-Americans. "It cannot be doubted," says that eminent writer, "that the greater part of the nations of America belong to a race of men, who, isolated ever since the infancy of the world from the rest of mankind, exhibit in the nature and diversity of language, in their features and the conformation of their skull, incontestable proofs of an early and complete separation."* "I think I discover in the mythology of the Americans, in the style of their paintings, in their languages, and especially in their external conformation,—the descendants of a race of men, which, early separated from the rest of mankind, has followed for a

* "Humboldt's Researches," vol. i. p. 250.

lengthened series of ages a peculiar road in the unfolding of its intellectual faculties, and in its tendency towards civilization." *

In accordance with these legitimate deductions from unquestionable facts, the voice of history informs us, that at a period of time very shortly posterior to the deluge, the eastern parts of Asia towards the Yellow Sea were occupied by a people comparatively civilized. "Chinese authors," says the Jesuit Du Halde, in his History of China, "consider *Fo hi* as the founder of their monarchy, who, about two hundred years after the deluge, reigned at first in the confines of the province of *Chen si*, and afterwards in the province of *Ho nan*, which is situated almost in the heart of the empire, where he employed himself in clearing all that tract of land that extends to the eastern ocean. However, this is certain, that China was inhabited above 2155 years before the birth of Christ, which is demonstrable by an eclipse that happened that year, as may be seen in the Astronomical Observations extracted from

* "Humboldt's Researches," vol. i. p. 200.

the Chinese history, and other books in that language, and published in 1729." *

And there is reason to believe, that at a period not less ancient, or at least shortly thereafter, the foundations of the Malayan state were laid, in the regions to the southward and in the isles of the Indian Archipelago, by a people acknowledging the same parentage, and speaking the same primitive tongue. Centuries before the Portugese ensign had been unfurled in the east, the ancient Malayan empire in the island of Sumatra, which was undoubtedly the source of the primitive civilization of America, had declined and fallen; the tributary Rajahs had made themselves independent; and the state of Achin, which was governed by one of their number, had become a first-rate maritime power. But there were other powerful maritime states, at the same period, of Malayan origin in the east; and the last fitful struggles of these states with the overwhelming power of Europeans were not unworthy of a people, who had maintained without a rival from time immemorial the empire of the eastern seas.

* Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 2.

The era of the Chinese occupation of the Japan islands does not carry us to a higher antiquity than 250 years before the birth of Christ. About that period "Chi-Hoang-ti" (second emperor of the Tsin or fourth dynasty) "sent a colony of 300 young men, and as many young women, into the Japan islands, under the conduct of a sea-captain, who made himself sovereign of these islands; and the people of Japan to this day boast that they are of a Chinese extraction."* But this affair looks more like a conquest than an original settlement, and the probability is, that the Japan islands had been occupied, in all likelihood, by Malays for a long period before.

Before taking leave of the subject of the Indo-American teocalli, it may not be irrelevant to observe that these edifices throw considerable light on the object and design of the ancient pyramids of Egypt. In his "Travels in Syria and Palestine," M. Volney, in common with the majority of other writers on the subject, considers the pyramids of Egypt as the mere mausolea of departed kings, and derives the word pyramid from two

* Du Halde, Tsin Dynasty.

Syriac words, signifying *the pit of death.* Such a derivation, however, is as far-fetched as that of Baron Humboldt, when he places alongside the Indian word teocalli the Greek words θεοῦ καλιὰ, or as that of the Scotch student at the University of Glasgow, who produced two words from his Hebrew lesson, which, when pronounced agreeably to the system taught at the University, sounded exactly like the name of an insignificant village in the neighbourhood of that city; for it is as much out of the way to go to Syria for the name of an object peculiar to Egypt, as it would be to search in Lyons or Marseilles for the name of an object peculiar to England. There is no reason whatever for supposing that the pyramids of Egypt were the mere mausolea of departed kings. Kings and other illustrious men may have been entombed within them, just as they are at present in cathedral churches; but these ancient edifices were doubtless intended to serve the same purpose in Egypt as in Mexico and in Babylon; they were doubtless teocalli, or houses of God—appropriated in the first instance for the worship of the true God, but afterwards for that of imaginary deities. Nay, in all likeli-

hood the *high places* to which the ancient Hebrews were so long and so perversely attached, that some of the most zealous of their reforming princes could not effect their removal, were pyramidal edifices of this kind—the scene originally of a pure and splendid worship, but afterwards of a gross and debasing superstition.

Baron Humboldt has exhibited a great variety of striking analogies in the astronomical system of the Mexicans and Peruvians to those of the ancient Egyptians, the Tartars, the Hindoos, and the Japanese. He has also observed, that the arabesques or "Greek ornaments," on the walls of "the palace of Mitla"—an interesting Indo-American ruin—"offer a striking analogy with those of the vases of lower Italy, and with others which we find spread over the surface of almost the whole of the old continent;" but perceiving no connecting link between the inhabitants of the new, and those of the old, world, he adds, "that analogies of this kind are very limited proofs of the ancient communications of nations."* They are no proof whatever of such communications;

* "Humboldt's Researches," vol. ii. p. 158.

but they prove incontestably that these nations must have derived their knowledge and their civilization contemporaneously from the same ancient and primitive source. And when we find precisely similar arabesques to those which the traveller admires on the walls of Mitla, or the ancient vases of Etruria, imprinted on the skin of the New Zealander, traced on his war-club, or wrought into the border of his mat, we can scarcely fail to acknowledge that the South Sea Islands must have formed the link of communication between the old world and the new; and we can scarcely fail to acknowledge also that that link must have been formed in the very infancy of society, when the earth was still wet, as it were, with the waters of the deluge.

I have already adduced the testimony of Humboldt to prove the identity of all the native tribes of America. "The nations of America, except those which border on the polar circle, form a single race characterized by the formation of the skull, the colour of the skin, the extreme thinness of the beard, and straight and glossy hair." *

* "Humboldt's Researches," vol. i. p. 15.

But the aborigines of America were found, at the era of its discovery by the Spaniards, scattered over the length and breadth of a vast continent, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Hudson's Bay to the Straits of Le Maire; and they were broken up, moreover, into an infinity of tribes speaking an infinity of tongues. To effect this wide dispersion, therefore, and to give rise to this wonderful diversity of tongues, America must have been discovered and settled by its aboriginal inhabitants at an early period in the history of the world—at all events at not less than from a thousand to fifteen hundred years before the Christian era. That a period, however, of three thousand to three thousand five hundred years, is quite sufficient to explain the phenomena to which I have just alluded, I am quite confident, notwithstanding the utterly gratuitous hypothesis of Dr. Von Martius to the contrary. The philosopher who supposes the revolution of countless ages to be necessary for the production of such a variety of dialects, for I will not call them languages, as is observable among the

Indo-Brazilians, must have paid little attention to the changes to which language is liable:—1st, in the state of quiescent semi-barbarism, such as that of the northern nations before their irruption into the Roman empire;—2nd, in the transition-state produced by wars and emigrations, such as that of Europe on the dismemberment of that empire;—and 3rd, in the state of high civilization, such as that of Europe since the Reformation. As an instance under the last of these heads, the English of Henry VII. would be unintelligible to nine-tenths of the subjects of William IV.; and if Great Britain and America were both to be reduced to a state of semi-barbarism again, not only would the language of Great Britain be unintelligible beyond the Atlantic in five hundred years hence, but there would be as many languages in North America as there are states in the Union; and the philosophic traveller from New Zealand—or whatever other country might afford at the time an asylum for knowledge and civilization—would be held worthy of an honorary membership in the Royal Society of the period, who should

discover that the Kentuckian language was merely a dialect of the Georgian or Carolinian tongue.

"The number of languages which distinguish the different native tribes appears still more considerable in the New Continent than in Africa, where, according to the late researches of Messrs. Seetzen and Vater, there are above one hundred and forty. In this respect the whole of America resembles Caucasus, Italy before the conquest of the Romans, Asia Minor when that country contained on a small extent of territory the Cilicians of Semitic race, the Phrygians of Thracian origin, the Lydians, and the Celts. The configuration of the soil, the strength of vegetation, the apprehensions of the mountaineers under the tropics of exposing themselves to the burning heat of the plains, are obstacles to communication, and contribute to the amazing variety of American dialects. This variety, it is observed, is more restrained in the savannahs and forests of the north, which are easily traversed by the hunter, on the banks of great rivers, along the coast of the ocean, and in every country where the

Incas had established their theocracy by the force of arms." *

Humboldt's assertion, however, that "the civilization of Mexico emanated from a country situated towards the north," is, doubtless, in accordance with his preconceived opinion that America was originally peopled from the continent of Asia, across Behring's Straits; but, as that opinion is at variance with a whole series of facts, the assertion is altogether gratuitous. It is much more probable that Mexico itself was the centre, or starting-point, of American civilization; from whence, in successive ages, the stream continued to flow both northward and southward, although a portion of that stream may in still later ages have returned in the shape of a comparatively civilized and conquering tribe upon the Mexican territory again.† When Hum-

* "Humboldt's Researches," vol. i. p. 17.

† The languages of South America have undoubtedly a much closer resemblance to the Polynesian dialects, than those of the northern continent. It was evidently, however, by a race that spoke a language bearing a much closer resemblance to the Polynesian tongue than the present language of Mexico, that the largest and the most ancient of the pyramids of that country was erected,—at least, if we may judge from its decidedly Polynesian name

boldt asserts, however, that "the problem of the first population of America is no more the province of history, than the questions on the origin of plants and animals, and on the distribution of organic germs, are that of natural science;" he merely cuts the knot which he is unable to untie. "It has hitherto been impossible," adds the accomplished traveller, "to ascertain the period

Teotihuacan, which is evidently a word of a very different family from such modern Mexican words as *Huitzilopochtli*, the god of war, and *Mictlancihuatl*, the goddess of hell. The Aztecks, or modern Mexicans, who had overrun the Mexican territory from the northward, and whose tenth king was the reigning monarch at the era of the Spanish invasion, ascribed the erection of the pyramid to the Toltecks, a tribe of kindred origin and language who had also overrun Mexico five hundred years previous to the era of the Azteck conquest; but they did so simply because their chronology, which, like that of many other conquering tribes, overlooked the records and traditions of the vanquished people, did not extend any higher than the era of the emigration and conquests of the northern tribes. But the probability is, that the pyramid of Teotihuacan was erected long before the Toltecks had emerged from the forests of the north, and that that warlike, but less polished, race retained the ancient Polynesian name of the stupendous edifice, while they worshipped their own national divinities, within its sacred precincts, under their own northern appellations. In short, the Mexican language, in all probability, received its birth in the forests of the northern continent, to which numerous tribes had doubtless emigrated from the southward many ages before the Azteck conquest of Mexico or the reflux of the northern tribes on the countries to the southward.

when the communication between the inhabitants of the two worlds took place." I have attempted to ascertain that period—with what success, the reader will determine. "How rash," continues the Baron, "would be the attempt to point out the group of nations of the old continent, with which the Toltecks, the Aztecks, the Muyscas, and the Peruvians present the nearest analogies; since these analogies are apparent in the traditions, the monuments, and customs, which, perhaps, preceded the present division of Asiatics into Chinese, Moguls, Hindoos, and Tungooses!"* I have nevertheless made this attempt, and have shown that, independently of those more remote analogies to which the learned traveller alludes, there are other and far closer analogies subsisting between the Indo-Americans and the race that inhabits the South Sea Islands, and demonstrating that America was originally peopled across the broadest part of the vast Pacific Ocean by individuals of that ancient Asiatic and primitive race. Whether the attempt may have been cha-

* "Humboldt's Researches," vol. i. p. 25.

racterized by *rashness*, or attended with success, it is for others to decide.

It would seem, therefore, that the first discoverers of America landed on the west coast of that continent, somewhere near the isthmus of Panama, at least from a thousand to fifteen hundred years before the birth of Christ; and that their immediate descendants, travelling northward and southward, formed powerful and flourishing empires in both continents, far surpassing in point of civilization the more recent empires of Montezuma and of the Incas of Peru. In these empires, all the knowledge and civilization that had survived the immense voyage across the Pacific Ocean were preserved and turned to account; but it seems doubtful whether the scion from the tree of knowledge which had thus been transplanted from Eastern Asia, and which evidently maintained its Asiatic life for many centuries, ever shot forth any additional branches in the American soil. The Mississippi*—*the gathering of the waters*, as the word is said to signify in the

* The word *puppi* signifies water in the Tahitian language.

Indian language—would serve as the grand conductor of civilization to the tribes that in successive ages advanced to the northward; and hence we find the remains of Indian *tumuli* and of Indian forts along the banks of the Ohio, and in the immediate vicinity of the lakes of Canada. But the dense forests of the Brazils, the pampas of La Plata, and the wilds of Patagonia were evidently less favourable for the preservation of the habitudes of Indian civilization; and hence we observe a gradual deterioration of the Indian race among the tribes that diverged into those regions from the parent settlements of the southern continent, till at length the wretched Brazilian cannibal or the miserable inhabitant of Tierra del Fuego —paddling in his rude canoe in search of whale-blubber along the stormy headlands of his inhospitable isle—scarcely exhibits any evidence of his ancient descent from the bold adventurous Malay, who had steered his beautifully carved galley from island to island across the vast Pacific, carrying along with him the knowledge and the primitive civilization of the East.

But if Philosophy is utterly at fault in her professed account of the origin of the *red race* of mankind, she is equally at fault whether she condemns them on the one hand to hopeless debasement and speedy extinction, or attempts on the other to point out the proper mode of elevating them in the scale of humanity and of ameliorating their condition. I have already shown, from a reference to the past attainments of the Indian race, that the supposition of their being naturally inferior in point of intellect to the white race, is not only gratuitous, but absolutely opposed to the evidence of facts. That an intercourse of upwards of three hundred years with Europeans—an intercourse in which the Indian can read only a record of national disaster, general spoliation, private oppression, public debasement—should have broken the spirit of the red race and consigned them to a life of listless inactivity, should by no means excite surprise; for, of all wild animals, the wild man is the most obstinately sullen in his moods, and the most difficult to tame.

If the Indo-American is of a radically inferior

race of mankind, so is the South Sea Islander. If the one is doomed to hopeless extinction, so is the other. I cannot, however, subscribe to either of these positions; for the only conclusion deducible from the facts on which they are founded is, that Europeans have not yet adopted the right method of winning back the Indian to the rank and standing of a civilized man. The question recurs, therefore, How is this to be accomplished?

"By civilizing the Indians in the first instance, and then making them Christians if you can." This is the uniform answer of the Reviewers, of the Magazine and Newspaper writers, and of a considerable portion of the clergy of all communions. "Make them good mechanics, and then make them good Christians." "Men must be rational and civilized," observes the late Dr. Lardner, "before they can be Christians: knowledge has a happy tendency to enlarge the mind, and to encourage generous sentiments." "Christianity," observes the late Dr. Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, "*cannot* immediately transform the minds of men, and totally change the

general temper and complexion of any people; but, on the contrary, it will thereby itself undergo considerable alteration, and its own influence and effect depend thereon. . . . And as barbarous and savage nations are *unable* to bear the truth, so vicious and immoral ones are in like manner incapable of bringing forth the fruits thereof. If such a people did receive the true religion, they would soon *drop* it again."

The Christian reader will scarcely think it necessary that I should offer a commentary on this miserable specimen of the theology of my Lord of Carlisle, the level of which is, perhaps, as low as that of his English. In regard, however, to the supposed necessity for a process of civilization, in the case of such heathens as the Indo-Americans and the South Sea Islanders, antecedently to all direct efforts to Christianize them, I would observe that both of these classes of men practise agriculture and the mechanical arts to a certain extent. They have therefore a species of civilization, peculiar in its character, doubtless, and much less removed from absolute barbarism than the

civilization of Europe, but still commensurate with their mental culture and their ideas of comfort; and the probability consequently is, that any direct attempt to induce them to practise the European arts of civilization will issue in entire failure. They will, in all likelihood, prefer their own canoes to the best-built boats of Europeans; they will continue to cultivate their plots of kumara or taro close to fields of wheat and barley cultivated by European agriculturists; and they will continue to inhabit huts erected on the plan of those of their forefathers, notwithstanding their having ocular demonstration of the superior comfort of those erected by their civilizing instructors. But if an effort should by any means be made successfully to enlighten the understanding of the semi-barbarian, in regard to the destinies and the duties of man—if that flood of light which illumines the page of Revelation should be let in upon his dark and mysterious past, and the veil of still deeper darkness that envelopes his future be rent asunder—if he should be enabled to feel his ground in the intellectual and moral world as a

creature formed originally after the image of God, and capable of being restored to that image again—his adoption of the habits and his practice of the arts of civilization will follow as naturally as any other effect follows its cause: for it is Christianity, I mean in its enlightening and enlivening influences, that especially deserves the commendation of the poet;

Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

This, however, is not mere theory: it is experience; it is fact. The missionaries at the Society Islands were resident nearly twenty years at these islands before any of the natives embraced Christianity. During that long period not one of the islanders had acquired a knowledge of any of the European arts, or adopted any of the habits of European civilization; and not one of them, with the single exception, I believe, of King Pomare, who was naturally a man of strong mind, could be induced by any means to undergo the trouble of learning to read and to write. At length a few of them embraced Christianity, and, shortly

thereafter, the whole nation renounced idolatry. It was then no longer necessary to cajole the natives to learn to read and to write. The passion for these accomplishments of European civilization became forthwith universal, and the gradual adoption, first of one and then of another, of the arts and habits of civilized men followed as a matter of course. One of these gentle islanders used to read his Tahitian hymn-book on the deck of our vessel every Sabbath evening during my first voyage to England round Cape Horn; and I could not help feeling it a humiliating circumstance, whenever I observed him at his interesting occupation, to think that there were English sailors on board who could neither read nor write.

Christianity is, therefore, the best handmaid to civilization. If the reverse had been the case—if civilization were to be considered the handmaid to Christianity—is it conceivable that the divine Author of Christianity would have enjoined his disciples to *go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature?* If the civilizing process were the one to begin with, in all such cases as those of the

Indo-Americans and the South Sea Islanders, agreeably to the dogma of Dr. Lardner and the Bishop of Carlisle, this single precept of Christianity would have been sufficient to have condemned the whole Christian system as a mere human invention. For it would have been proper to infer from it that, at the time it was given, the divine Author of Christianity did not know that there were such men in the world as the Indo-Americans, and the South Sea Islanders, and the aborigines of New Holland; to whose case, in the estimation of the competent authorities I have just referred to, the precept cannot possibly apply.

Nay, if the civilization of the North American Indian, and of the far more debased inhabitant of the woods and wilds of New Holland, is ever to be accomplished, I am confident it will be effected only by plying them in right earnest, all debased and degraded as they are, with the truths of Christianity. The voice of history, whether sacred or profane, proclaims to us that man was originally no barbarian.* And, as it was, doubtless,

* Gentlemen of intelligence in the colony of New South Wales

through his having forgotten the author and the object of his being, that man has in any instance

have professed to be in doubt, whether they ought to consider the aborigines of New Holland as a superior order of beings to the ourang-outang of the neighbouring islands of Borneo and Sumatra. And, to tell the truth, on contemplating a family of black natives encamped on the bank of one of the Australian rivers, and employed in picking out the *cabra* (or teredo) insect from pieces of wood that have been lying for some time under water, and gorging themselves with the *raw produce* of that peculiar species of native industry, the difference between the two classes of animals does not appear very remarkable. But this is not the aspect under which we must contemplate the New Hollander, with a view to ascertain his kindred or to fix his relationship. We must visit him at his encampment in the forest, when the glorious constellations of the southern hemisphere have lighted up the Australian sky, and listen to him as he distinguishes the more remarkable groups of stars by appropriate names, designating the constellation *Gemini*, for instance, "the black fellow and his jin," or wife. We must listen to his attempts to commemorate the warlike achievements of his tribe, in poetry, doubtless, of the rudest description, but still in poetry. For a Scotch clergyman who was settled some time ago in the interior of the colony, and who has studied the language of the aborigines, has assured me that a black native had on one occasion repeated to him a poem, descriptive of a warlike expedition against some hostile tribe, extending to not fewer than fifteen stanzas, and evincing poetical feeling to a considerable degree. Instead, therefore, of reasoning downwards, (which, agreeably to the well-known maxim *facilis descensus*, is the easiest thing in the world,) and showing how closely the New Holland savage assimilates to the brutes, let the New Holland philosophers reason upwards, and show us how closely the brutes assimilate to the New Hollander in his higher moods. Let them only inform us by what names any of the inferior animals have ever designated any of the constellations. Let them only show us "A poem in fifteen stanzas by an ourang-outang." No! even in the times of ancient paganism, men

fallen from this high estate of primitive civilization into the abject condition of a savage, it is unquestionably the most rational mode of attempting to lead him back to that primitive state to direct his intellectual vision to these objects again. In short, the divine Author of Christianity contemplated all the possible conditions of humanity when he issued his command, "Go ye into ALL the world, and preach the Gospel to EVERY creature;" and they who tacitly insinuate that he must have been mistaken in his proposed method of treating human nature in the state of barbarism, and who ridicule the attempt to Christianize the savage, and recommend a process of civilization in the first instance, are equally irrational and presumptuous.

Let us appeal once more, however, to the evidence of facts. The Church of England Mis-

entertained ideas on this subject much more accordant with common sense and with the proper and exclusive dignity of man.

Natus homo est; sive hunc divino semine fecit
Ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo;
Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cœli.
Os homini sublime dedit; *cœlumque tueri*
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.—OVID, MET. I.

sionary Society's mission to New Zealand was originally formed on the civilizing scheme, in deference, I presume, to the opinions of Bishop Law and the Reviewers.

On this principle a number of missionary-artisans, of various handicrafts, were duly forwarded to New Zealand, where the missionary-carpenter accordingly built a specimen-house, as like an English house as possible, expecting, of course, that every New Zealander who saw it would immediately build himself a house on the same plan; but the New Zealander, who had looked on with perfect indifference during the operation, preferred a hut after the fashion of his rude forefathers, and continued to live as before. The missionary boat-builder was still less successful; for the New Zealand war-canoe, impelled with the speed of an arrow by fifty paddles, could sail round and round his clinker-built wherry, to the infinite satisfaction of the islanders, let her do her best. The missionary rope-spinner was absolutely laughed to scorn for his awkward attempts at the application of British machinery to the dressing and manufacture of the native flax, which

the New Zealander could already manufacture into nets, lines, and mats for clothing, both useful and ornamental. The missionary-blacksmith was doubtless a personage of more importance; but it was only because he could mend the lock of the crazy old musket, which the New Zealander had purchased from some English or American whaler, for a large quantity of pigs and potatoes, and with which he was only anxious to shoot his countrymen of some distant tribe, unacquainted with the use of fire-arms. And, although the stout missionary-ploughman turned up in one year, as he actually told me himself, no fewer than eleven acres of land which he had previously cleared, and which he afterwards sowed with wheat with his own hands, not a single New Zealander cared either for his plough, or his harrow, his crop, or himself. In short, for ten or twelve successive years the missionary-artisans and farmers cleared land, ploughed and sowed, sawed timber and built houses, plied the forehammer and spun ropes to *the dry bones* of New Zealand, without perceiving the least symptom of animation. They did every thing, in fact, but what

God had himself commanded them to do two thousand years ago—*Prophesy*, i. e. preach, *to the dry bones; preach the Gospel to every creature.* The result of such procedure was just what might have been expected. The missionaries not only became completely secularized, but several of their number became demoralized, through the unhallowed operation of the wretched system they were called to act under, and were ultimately dismissed from the Society. The New Zealanders, who had not unfrequently accused them in the mean time of having come to their country because it was a better one than their own, were as far from civilization as ever; and the Society was therefore disappointed in its hopes.

The utter failure of the experiment I have detailed has not been without its use. It has taught the managers of missionary societies, that, in endeavouring to achieve the general amelioration of the heathen, they are not to encumber their agents with a complicated secular machinery, for the purpose of carrying on a process of civilization, agreeably to the maxims of a *philosophy falsely so called.* It has taught them that the

wisdom of the world is foolishness with God ; and that in doing God's work it is infinitely better to obey God than man. In short, it has taught them,—in conformity to the maxim *summa lex, summa ratio*,—that the closest adherence to the Divine precept is the best philosophy.

I am happy, however, to inform the reader, that the New Zealand Mission is now in great measure remodelled ; and that under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Yate—a missionary not less able, than zealous and indefatigable — it already promises to impart benefits of the highest order to the numerous inhabitants of that most interesting island. On my second voyage from New South Wales to England, in the year 1830, our vessel encountered a gale from the south-eastward, of seven days' continuance, off the north-east Cape of New Zealand, during the continuance of which our good ship was carried within sight of the high land on that part of the coast. The circumstance naturally led to a train of thought somewhat similar to the one to which I have just given expression ; and, as I paced the heaving deck of our vessel, I endeavoured to embody the ideas

that were thus suggested, in the following lines, which, although the reader will probably perceive that they evince traces of the ennui and squeamishness to which most people are subject during a gale of contrary wind, at the commencement of a long voyage, may yet derive some interest from their birthplace at the Antipodes.

VERSES

WRITTEN WITHIN SIGHT OF THE NORTH-EAST CAPE OF NEW ZEALAND, AUGUST 1830.

Antarctic isle! thy mountains rise
  All dimly o'er the western main;
But gladly I regale my eyes
  With the bless'd sight of land again!
O, 'tis a welcome sight to me
Amid this wild and billowy sea!

Thy shores, methinks, sequester'd isle,
  Might form a fitting dwelling-place
For men devoid of earthly guile,
  For mortals of a heavenly race;
For underneath thy cloudless skies
Fancy might form a Paradise.

Far different is the race that swarms
  Along thy rivers, lakes, and bays:
All horribly disguised their forms,
  All treacherous their savage ways;
Barbarian war their chief employ,
And deadliest cruelty their joy.

The vile assassin's hideous yell,
The murderer's terrific roar,
The music and the speech of hell
Are heard along thy shelving shore;
While men, like lions in their den,
Feast on the quivering limbs of men!

See yon tall chief of high command,
With face tattoo'd and bearing proud;
The feast of blood already plann'd,
He eyes his victim in the crowd.
His horrid mien and matted hair
Might well befit a tiger's lair.

Beneath his shaggy flaxen mat,
The dreadful marree * hangs conceal'd;
Nor is his dark and deadly thought
By look, or word, or act, reveal'd;—
The fated wretch fears no surprise
Till suddenly he shrieks, and dies!

How shall we tame thee, man of blood?
How shall thy wild Antarctic isle,
Won by philanthropy to God,
With British arts and science smile?
How shall New Zealand's sons embrace
The habits of a happier race?

"Let agriculture tame the soil,"
The philosophic sage exclaims;
"Let peasants ply their useful toil
Along the wide Antarctic Thames;

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* The marree is a short hatchet, resembling a butcher's cleaving-knife, and is sometimes made of fish-bone, though generally of serpentine stone finely polished. The handle is perforated, and it is usually attached by a piece of cord to the internal part of the mat or plaid worn by the New Zealanders.

So shall New Zealand's sons embrace
The habits of a happier race."

Wisdom, thy name is folly here!
  The savage laughs thy plans to scorn.
Each lake supplies him dainty cheer;
  He sates his hunger with the fern,
And contemplates with proud disdain
Thy furrow'd fields and yellow grain.

"Let European arts be plied,"
  Again the learned sage commands,
"And be the great sledge-hammer tried
  To civilize the savage lands:
The axe, the chisel, and the saw
Lead to religion, peace, and law."

Deluded sage, th' attempt were vain;
  The savage scorns thy science too,
And asks with pitiful disdain,
  "What ship outsails my war-canoe?"
Of all thy gifts there is but one
He prizes—'tis thy murdering gun.

"Go, preach the Gospel," Christ commands;
  And when he spake the sov'reign word,
New Zealand's dark and savage lands
  Lay all outstretch'd before their Lord:
He saw them far across the sea,
Even from the hills of Galilee.

In all their ignorance they lay
  Before the Saviour's piercing eye;
And he who makes the darkness day,
  Thus pitied all their misery:
"Proclaim to yonder savage race
The tidings of redeeming grace.

"Let the wild savage know the God
Whose Providence his life sustains,
And Him who shed his precious blood
To save him from eternal pains;
So shall his brutal warfare cease,
So shall he learn the arts of peace!"

Yes! "Preach the Gospel," Christ commands,
"To every soul, the world around;
In barbarous, as in learned lands,
Still let the Gospel trumpet sound,
Till every dark and savage isle
In Eden's primal beauty smile."

Yes! though despised in every age,
Thy word of power, Almighty Lord!
Can put to shame the wisest sage,
And civilize the rudest horde;
Can cheer the deepest, darkest gloom,
And make the dreariest desert bloom.

Great Source of light! O, be it given
To every minister of thine,
To wield this instrument of Heaven
With zeal and energy divine,
Till every isle of this vast sea
Be won to virtue and to Thee!

THE END.

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